The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies

Winter, 1994 Vol. 19, No. 4

Countering the Missile Threat
S. Orman and E. Fox

Energy for Planet Earth
Peter E. Glaser

Tibet since Mao Zedong
Stephen Bowers

Clan Conflicts, Hezbollah & the Lebanese State
A. Nizar Hamzeh

Global Competition Challenges the Socio-Economic Structure of America and Europe
Bamijoka S. Smith

The World Population Explosion and the Cost of Uncontrolled Immigration
Dwight D. Murphey

Council for Social and Economic Studies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copyright ® 1994, The Council for Social and Economic Studies

The Journal for Social, Political and Economic Studies is published quarterly by the Council for Social and Economic Studies. All correspondence should be addressed to The Editor, P.O. Box 34070, N.W. Washington, D.C., 20043, U.S.A. [Telephone (202) 371-2700; Fax (202) 371-1523]. Formerly known as *The Journal of Social and Political Affairs*, the subscription rate is $80 per annum for libraries and institutions, although scholars and private individuals are entitled to subscribe at a privileged rate of $40.50 per annum. Overseas subscribers pay an additional $5.00 per annum for postage. Reduced three year subscriptions are available at a cost of $210 for libraries and institutions and $95.00 for private individuals. Students may subscribe for $25.00 per year. The attention of readers is drawn to the *JSPES Monograph Series* (ISSN 0895-724X) published in association with the Journal and advertised elsewhere in this issue. Members of the academic community and other qualified individuals are invited to consult the General Editor at the above address concerning articles which they may wish to submit for possible publication. ISSN 0193-5941

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Journal of SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES

Roger Pearson
General Editor
Dwight D. Murphey
Associate Editor

Winter, 1994 Vol. 19, No. 4

Contents

Countering the Missile Threat 387
By S. Orman and E. Fox

Energy for Planet Earth 399
Py Peter E. Glaser

Tibet since Mao Zedong 409
By Stephen Bowers

Clan Conflicts, Hezbollah & the Lebanese State 433
By A. Nizar Hamzeh

Global Competition Challenges the Socio-Economic Structure of America and Europe 445
By Bamijoka S. Smith

The World Population Explosion and the Cost of Uncontrolled Immigration 481
By Dwight D. Murphey

Index to Volume Nineteen 511

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIAL BOARD

General Editor

Roger Pearson
Council for Social and Economic Studies
Washington, D.C.

Associate Editor

Dwight D. Murphey
The Wichita State University

Advisory Committee

James T. Bennett
George Mason University

Stephen R. Bowers
James Madison University

Gary Bullert
University of Seattle

F. McA. Clifford-Vaughn
University of Natal

Sam. S. Crutchfield, Jr.
Washington, D.C.

Daniel Ellegiers
University of Brussels

Julien Freund
University of Strasbourg

Robert E. Gilbert
Northeastern University, Boston

Garrett Hardin
University of California, Santa Barbara

George A. Kourvetaris
Northern Illinois University

James Mayall
London School of Economics

Maxwell A. Miller
Mountain States Legal Foundation

Robert C. Richardson, III
Washington, D.C.

R. J. Rummel
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Alan Ned Sabrosky
Rhodes College, Memphis

Helmut Schelsky
University of Westfalia

Robert Schuettinger
Yale University

Oleg Zinam
University of Cincinnati

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Countering the Missile Threat

E. Fox and S. Orman
General Technology Systems, Inc., Rockville, Md.

The purpose of this article is to propose a way out of the impasse that is currently preventing the deployment of an effective defense against ballistic missiles without undermining the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. To achieve this the topics of missile technology proliferation, the ABM Treaty and ballistic missile defense are reviewed to illustrate the manner in which they have become inextricably linked. The linkage is such that it is adversely affecting plans to deploy an effective Theater Missile Defense (TMD) as part of the evolving Counterproliferation policy. A solution is proposed that will enable a defense to be deployed without undermining any international treaties.

Background

There have been so many articles recently, warning of the growing proliferation of missile and unconventional warhead technology,[1,2,3] that there can be few readers who will not acknowledge that the longstanding policy of Non-Proliferation needs to be reinforced. This does not mean that the policy of Non-Proliferation should be viewed as a failure. It was inevitable that leakages of technology would occur and it is a testament to the effectiveness of its implementation that so much time has elapsed before the policy had to be re-examined. What is being proposed in its stead is an extension of Non-Proliferation policy to one of Counterproliferation. Non-Proliferation relied upon discussion, denial, disarmament (and arms control), and diplomatic pressure. Counter proliferation includes these with the extension of four more categories which are clearly the responsibility of defense departments. These are defense, deterrence, defuzing and destruction and they appear in recognition of the fact that proliferation has occurred. If Non-Proliferation means proved inadequate, then counterproliferation provides the increased measures to protect against threats from proliferation, whether these arise from States or sub-national groups. The passage of the Missile Defense Act 1991, coupled with subsequent amendments modifying the original objective of deploying a National Missile Defense to one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of achieving a TMD, appeared to put the US clearly on the road to countering the growing missile threat with a defense. The change from the Bush to the Clinton Administration, did nothing initially to dispel this belief.

In early 1993, Les Aspin, then a newly-appointed Secretary of Defense, issued policy and programming guidelines for 1993 and 1994 budgets, giving the highest priority to TMD. Even though Congress cut the requested Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) budget from some $3.8 billion to less than $3 billion for 1994, with similar reductions for 1995, the allocations seemed to indicate that TMD remained an important program and would be pushed through to completion. The Counterproliferation policy has, however, been placed in substantial jeopardy, by the recognition that a conflict exists between the previously declared intention of abiding within the restrictions of the ABM Treaty, and deploying an effective TMD. It is important to put the treaty into a historical perspective to understand the emotion generated by this apparent conflict. The ABM Treaty is the only arms control agreement struck with the Former Soviet Union (FSU), which has stood the test of time and for many staff, on both sides of the old Iron Curtain, represents the pinnacle of their achievements.

The ABM Treaty

In the late 1960's, the two Superpowers conducted negotiations under the banner of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), in an attempt to curb the dangers and the increasing cost of the arms race in which they were involved. The objectives of the two powers in entering the talks were quite different. The Americans were concerned that the Soviets were introducing modernized Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), at a yearly rate of about 250, and new Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), at about half that rate. The Soviets, on the other hand, wanted to curb the US deployment of an Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) System, called Safeguard, which was being prepared for deployment at multiple sites. In the 1972 ABM Treaty, both sides got some of what they each wanted. Several limitations were placed on the number, type and location of defensive systems, and an associated SALT agreement limited the offensive launcher systems to those deployed by an agreed date.[4] Neither the SALT 1 nor the later SALT II agreement, which was never ratified by the US Senate, really curbed the destructive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power being developed. The two nations instead, passed from a position of deterrence, in which attempts were being made to design effective defenses, to one of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), in which it was tacitly acknowledged that nuclear war would destroy both nations, if not all civilization. The ABM Treaty has been given partial credit for the avoidance of hostilities until the eventual collapse of the FSU. Thus, it is widely viewed as an important factor in keeping the peace between nations. Not a bad epitaph for an agreement that, at the time of its signature, appeared to suggest that threatening to destroy populations is acceptable, but threatening to destroy weapons is not.

Today, the same basic argument is being repeated, now that ground-based technology advances have furnished an effective means of protecting against the short and intermediate range ballistic missiles possessed by many countries around the world. Instead of suggesting, however, that it would be wrong to have the ability to intercept these offensive systems, the objections are formulated around the case to protect the integrity of the ABM Treaty. When the Treaty was signed, it was directed principally at defenses against ICBMs. At the time, both sides accepted that the capability to intercept SLBMs fell within its restrictions. Second and third generation surface-to-surface tactical missiles now in development, or in the hands of several countries, have similar performance characteristics of SLBMs of the 1970s vintage. In short, although the ABM Treaty was not designed to restrict defenses against Tactical Ballistic Missiles (TBM), there is no longer any clear distinction between TBMs and strategic missiles. Contravention or compliance is a matter of subjective judgement.

Proliferation

Viewed purely objectively, it is difficult to understand the commitment to retaining a Treaty that was signed in a totally different geo-political environment than currently exists. It was signed between the US and the FSU when these two Superpowers totally dominated the ballistic missile scene. Although, at the time, the other Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, China, France, and the UK, possessed independent nuclear deterrents, their numbers were very small compared to those held by the US and the FSU. Indeed, even the minimal defense which the Soviets retained legally under the ABM Treaty was enough to cause the UK and France to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invest heavily merely to maintain a deterrent posture.[5] That bipolar world no longer exists. There is now a totally different situation in which proliferation has occurred, with nearly thirty nations possessing ballistic missiles of varying ranges, some with no compunction against using them. The danger of terrorists acquiring such systems grows proportionately. Nonetheless, there remains a solid body of opinion, that considers retention of the ABM Treaty to be an essential feature of security policy. These adherents to the Treaty have been very active in pointing out that any deployment of an effective TMD will undermine the ABM Treaty, and cause it to unravel. Their basic argument is that any defense which is highly effective against tactical missiles will have some residual capability against ICBMs, and therefore, should not be deployed. Reduced to basics, their case is that if a TMD would be effective, it cannot be deployed[6] without contravening the ABM Treaty. *Readers are left with the clear impression that no objection would be raised to the deployment of a system which is ineffective!*

Missile Defense

Throughout recorded history successful defense has been built upon the concept of defense in depth. Thus medieval castles had moats, then outer and inner defensive walls, enabling the defender to engage the attacker at points of his own choosing. In a similar manner the designer of a ballistic missile defense would like to engage attacking missiles at different points in their trajectory, and thereby enhance the effectiveness of the defense. The destruction of a missile in the factory, while being transported to a firing site, or on a launcher would be preferable. In the absence of these capabilities, the interception of a missile early in its flight path provides several advantages to the defense. During the boost phase ascent the missile is moving relatively slowly and its burning motors make it a sizeable target for infra-red detectors. If the missile contains nuclear, chemical or biological warheads then early interception would cause the debris from these to fall back on the area from which it was launched. Interception early in the flight-path would prevent the dispensing of sub-missiles or some decoys so only one large target would have to be engaged. Furthermore if the attempted early interception fails the defender has the time to launch other interceptors. It was these reasons that led to the development of the space-based interceptors, Brilliant Pebbles, which at one time were serious contenders for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deployment in a strategic defense architecture known as Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS). The concept of space-based interceptors proved too big a step to take initially and Brilliant Pebbles were relegated to an advanced technology program. The concept of a layered defense, however, was not abandoned, even though the decision to rely on a ground based system meant that boost phase interception would not be a component of an initially deployed architecture.

The TMD which the BMDO is developing has three major defensive weapon systems in the present core program. These are the PATRIOT, improved to the PAC-3 standard, the Naval Lower Tier, and the Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD). The first two are point, or limited area, defense systems while THAAD gives an upper tier capability and will provide a wide area defense by intercepting missiles at higher altitudes and greater distances. It represents the best layered interception capability that could be obtained from a ground-based system.

The PATRIOT was designed as an anti-aircraft system and has been upgraded to the PAC-3 standard. It incorporates improvements to the radar and a new hit-to-kill missile called ERINT, Extended Range Interceptor. As an upgrade to an existing system it would capitalize on fielded equipment and be capable of more rapid deployment. It will be most effective when operated in conjunction with an upper tier system, such as THAAD. On its own it would be limited to defending single assets and would not be suitable for population defense or large target areas.

The Naval lower tier which would be on Aegis warships, would utilize the capabilities of the Aegis Spy-1 radar and modified Navy Standard Block IV missiles. It would have a similar performance to the PATRIOT and would provide support for forces that might have to face opposition as they enter the theater of operations in coastal regions. Like PATRIOT it would be most effective as a lower tier operating beneath an upper tier system.

The limited capabilities of the PAC-3 and the Naval lower tier do not put them in conflict with the ABM Treaty. The THAAD on the other hand falls neatly into the grey area described earlier because it is designed to have the ability to intercept IRBMs which have similar performance characteristics to the 1970s vintage SLBMs. *As the only component providing an area defense capability, the THAAD is the centerpiece of the ground-based TMD program.* This is important for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

several reasons. A longer range system gives the defender time to adopt a shoot-look-shoot tactic which means that a miss by one interceptor can be overcome by other attempts. While not as attractive as a boost phase intercept, a long range intercept still enables the debris from a destroyed missile to be dispersed well away from the target area. City and population defense becomes an affordable and an achievable objective with a longer range interceptor. This latter property will be of significant importance to many allies because they will wish to employ a TMD in a strategic role for defense of their homeland and their population. Denying the ability to deploy THAAD would undermine the concept of an effective TMD. This is the reason why the US Administration has been attempting to "clarify" the ABM Treaty with Russia and some other members of the FSU to avoid having to choose between the two policies of abiding by the Treaty and deploying an effective defense.

US/Russian Talks on TMD and the ABM Treaty

The American proposal made to the Russians in Geneva in November 1993 was that systems able to intercept attacking missiles travelling up to 5km/sec should be classed as tactical interceptors and excluded from the restrictions of the Treaty, providing they were tested only in the tactical mode. The Russians have their own agenda, which includes an attempt to market their own SA-12s as a tactical missile defense system, so they had no apparent incentive to ease the American Administration's problems.[7] They countered therefore by proposing further restrictions on the defensive missile by restricting its burn-out velocity to 5km/sec, and suggesting it should not be capable of intercepting attacking missiles with a range greater than 3,500 km. The proposed restriction on the burn-out velocity gives the appearance of being willing to allow THAAD to proceed, but of closing off any further development of follow-on systems, or improvements to THAAD. *The status of the discussions remains unresolved.*

There are those in Russia who show the same concern for preservation of the ABM Treaty as their counterparts in America and Europe. They have been equally critical of any clarification of the Treaty. In a recent article[8] it was pointed out that prior testing of a system against a particular form of attack is not necessarily a pre-requirement for its use in battle, as evidenced by the employment of PATRIOT PAC-2 against Scud attacks during the Desert Storm War. This was not a particularly good choice of example because later

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

analysis showed the performance to have been questionable; in that sense justifying the concept that field commanders would not have faith in unproven systems. Nonetheless the system was used, and its very presence played a significant role in preventing Israel from retaliating against Iraq, and thereby preserved the cohesion of the multilateral force. Thus as with so many other aspects of the ABM Treaty, there is no clear cut definition of what is or is not permissible, and any attempt at compromise by the two signatory powers will be subject to criticism by Treaty adherents around the World.

US TMD Follow-On Program

Before leaving the topic of what might be deployed under the compromise of identifying capabilities specifically for tactical usage, some reference should be made to the US follow-on systems. These refer to capabilities which are in a pre-feasibility stage, the objective being to choose one of the three to proceed into full development in 1998 timeframe. The three candidates are CORPSAM, Naval Upper Tier and Boost Phase Intercept.

CORPSAM can be viewed as a replacement for HAWK. The system would be tactically mobile and have the capability of intercepting aircraft, cruise missiles and tactical BMs. In simplistic terms it would provide an air defense capability to troops by extending the battle space to take account of the improvements to offensive systems capabilities which have been fielded since HAWK was first deployed in the 1960s. CORPSAM would provide only a point defense capability and like PATRIOT-PAC-3, should not conflict with the existing ABM Treaty. This may be one of the reasons that the French and German Governments are now in the process of discussing possible collaboration between their industries and US industry in developing CORPSAM, which they are calling Medium Extended Air Defense System, MEADS.

The Naval Upper Tier approximates to a Naval THAAD in that it would be designed to intercept at altitudes above the atmosphere at ranges well clear of the intended target. The attractiveness of the Naval Upper Tier is that it would utilize the sunk costs in the Aegis system for the Battle Management Command Control and Communication (BMC3) functions. It would also provide a means of overcoming the problems which arise when a crisis develops rapidly without giving friendly Governments the time to pre-deploy troops and equipment to the area. Like THAAD, the Naval Upper Tier would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be designed to counter short and intermediate range ballistic missiles; it would, because of its range, enable population defense to be attempted. In that sense it would provide a form of strategic defense for allies, most of whom draw no distinction between theater and strategic. This distinction is drawn by the US in its Superpower role of deploying troops to crisis areas around the World, in each case viewing the area as a theater of operations. *To the nation at the center of the crisis the threat is strategic.* Most of the allied nations which are now showing an interest in TMD are doing so because they now recognize either an existing or growing potential ballistic missile threat to their homeland. They will be seeking a strategic defense against short and intermediate range ballistic missile attacks but will, of course, remain vulnerable to ICBM attacks. They were not attracted by the US concept of a worldwide strategic defense, but they are interested in a localized defense that will be highly effective. *Using the ABM Treaty to prevent the deployment of THAAD or Naval Upper Tier undermines the very concept of an effective defense for these allied nations.*

The third follow-on program in the prefeasibility phase is Boost Phase Intercept (BPI). This returns to the concept of intercepting attacking missiles in the more vulnerable early stages of flight by the use of missiles air launched either from an airplane, from a remotely piloted vehicle (RPV), or from an Unmanned Air Vehicle (UAV). Those who object to the deployment of an effective TMD have generally focused less direct attention on the air launched boost phase intercept concept than on THAAD or Naval Upper Tier. BPI is presumed to be non-compliant to the ABM Treaty under the blanket prohibition of mobile land, sea or air-based Systems, or those based on new physical principals.

The Dilemma

This review of the programs which are underway and the criticisms which have been leveled against some of them, indicates that *the maintenance of the ABM Treaty is considered in some quarters, to be far more important than the provision of protection against weapons which are already in the hands of potential aggressors.* This harkens back to the allegation made at the time the Treaty was signed in 1972 "that threatening to destroy populations is acceptable but threatening to destroy weapons is not."

The classic theories of deterrence were developed comparatively

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recently during the growth of the nuclear age. They built on the concept that nuclear war was so terrible to contemplate that the certainty of retaliation would deter an aggressor from initiating a conflict. The theories that were developed were all based on qualitative stability analyses and decision modelling, representing political leaders as totally stable and rational in the Western sense. Analyses of actual conflicts do not sustain this hypothesis[9] and, in fact, indicate that the stand-off between the US and the Former Soviet Union during the Cold War may have been an anomaly rather than a model for the concept of deterrence. Even if after examining the historical evidence some still believe that deterrence could provide a means of avoiding hostilities between sovereign nations, they would have difficulty in extending this to sub-national groupings. There is too much evidence that terrorist organizations are prepared to use innocent civilians as shields for their operations for anyone to believe that they would be deterred from using any weapon by the threat of overwhelming retaliation. In fact, retaliation may strengthen their position. Now that proliferation of missile and unconventional warhead technology has occurred there is an ever increasing likelihood that sub-national groupings will acquire, and be willing to use, these weapons of terror.

The need to counter this growing threat is so urgent that the major nations can no longer afford the luxury of arguing the merits of what can or cannot be deployed under the restrictions of the ABM Treaty. The naysayers will not go away, and the artificial distinction between tactical and strategic missiles invented by lawyers will continue to distort the issues[10] Therefore a way has to be found of avoiding the restrictions of the Treaty so that the technological advances which have been made can be harnessed to provide an effective defense.

The Solution

Ironically, the path to achieving this objective has been pointed out by Russian negotiators who were discussing ballistic missile defense with their American counterparts shortly after the fall of the FSU. In January 1992 the Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, proposed that the United States and Russia should cooperate in the pursuit of a Global Protection System against ballistic missile attack. At that time the Russians indicated that the ABM Treaty limited US and Russian (originally Soviet) national missile defense programs only, and that a multinational program would be free of any such restric-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions.[11] It is presumed that the Russians made that statement to encourage Russian/American cooperation in missile defense; an objective they were still seeking nearly two years later.[11] There is no need, however, to restrict such a cooperative venture to collaboration with Russia. Other international groupings offer attractive opportunities, NATO, US/Middle East allies, and US/Asian allies appear to offer natural alliances. Pursuance of these would not exclude erstwhile opponents, such as FSU nations, which could also be included in this activity.

The critical feature in a change from a US national to a multinational TMD program would be the willingness of America to relinquish total control of the program for a leadership role. It is not suggested that such a change could be accommodated easily, but if it provides a path to the achievement of the prime objective, it should certainly be fully evaluated. A genuine multinational program would meet the Congressional desire for allied burden sharing and also provide the allies with an opportunity to participate actively in the development of policy and the hardware. It would provide the route to a win-win situation whereby the US could participate in the deployment of active defense against ballistic missile attack, without restricting its capabilities. The allies, and erstwhile opponents, by collaborating as full partners, would have a positive role to play and would have much greater confidence in the outcome. *The possibilities will be limited only by the imagination of those negotiating the way ahead. It is to be hoped they can rise above the petty squabbles that have characterized the discussions on TMD and the ABM Treaty. Our future security will rest on their success.*

Notes

1. Duncan Lennox, Jane's Strategic Weapons Systems, 1992.
2. John Cunningham, *Journal Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 131. 1994
3. Humphrey Crum Ewing, Robin Ranger & David Bosdet, Bailrigg Memorandum No. 9, CDISS, Lancaster University, 1994
4. US ACDA "Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements: Texts of Histories Negotiations", US Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. pgs. 137-63, 1982
5. S. Orman, "Faith in G.O.D.S.". Brasseys, London 1991, p. 36
6. a. Lisbeth Gronlund, George Lewis, Theodore Postol and David Wright, *Arms Control Today*, April 1994, p. 3-8.
   b. Spurgeon Keeney, Jr., *Arms Control Today*, September 1994, p. 3-7.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

c. Jack Mendelsohn and John Rhinelander, *Arms Control Today*, September 1994, p. 8- 10.
d. John Pike, *Arms Control Today*, September 1994, p. 11-14.
7. J. Hackett, *Washington Times*, P. A16, August 29, 1994.
8. Pavel Podvig. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 23 September 1994
9. Keith Payne and Lawrence Fink, *Strategic Review*, Winter 1989, p. 25-40.
10. Angelo Codevilla, *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 15, 1994
11. Keith Payne, *Defense News*, Dec. 13 1993, p. 24.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPACE POWER

Resources, Manufacturing and Development

Space Power is a quarterly journal sponsored by the SUNSAT Energy Council for the presentation, discussion and analysis of advanced concepts, initial treatments and ground-breaking basic research on the technical, economic and societal aspects of: large-scale space-based solar power, space resource utilization, space manufacturing, space colonization, and other areas related to the development and use of space for the benefit of humanity.

Free sample available to librarians on request

ISSN 0883-6272 • Price $288 per annum
(Special Rates Available to Private Individuals)
MASTERCARD AND VISA ACCEPTED

Box 34070, N.W. Washington D.C. 20043

Tel: (202) 371-2700 Fax: (202) 371-1523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Energy for Planet Earth

Peter E. Glaser
Arthur D. Little, Inc.

A strategy is presented to mitigate the escalating deterioration of the biosphere as a result of the exponential increase in population. This strategy is based on the use of extraterrestrial materials resources available in the solar system by obtaining power from space for use on Earth to supply the energy demands of a civilization that would not have to rely exclusively on terrestrial energy sources. A growth path for the solar power satellite is presented that can achieve definable values at various stage of technology readiness. Near-term activities along this growth path are indicated and coordinated development projects are advocated to meet the challenges facing humanity.

An international consensus is required to achieve environmental protection and economic development so as to ensure that the Earth will remain hospitable for human and other forms of life.

Humanity is facing daunting challenges as we look towards the 21st Century. Among these challenges whether they be political, economic or environmental, the availability of energy is key to the continued striving for acceptable living standards of the world's growing population.

Total world energy consumption has more than quadrupled since the 1950's. Nearly 90% of current energy demands are met by the combustion of fossil fuels, and the resultant pollutants constitute an increasing threat to the Earth's ecology and climate. Furthermore, the inequitable availability of these fuels is resulting in widening economic disparities in the standard of living between the developed and developing countries.

To make matters worse, the present exponential population growth in some developing countries, which double their population in twenty-five years or less, is leading to a possible doubling of the world's population by the middle of the 21st Century. There is a correlation between population growth, life expectancy and energy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consumption as Figure 1 shows, and this wave of humanity will have to be fed, clothed and housed to achieve a tolerable living standard. The resulting predictable and escalating deterioration of the biosphere has to be mitigated while seeking ways to advance development. These challenges were explored at the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, June 3 to 15, 1992.

The key to further development is to have adequate supplies of energy at an affordable cost, and to place increasing reliance on renewable or inexhaustible energy sources that are compatible with the environment. There is a window of opportunity that may be open for only a few decades to find solutions to these related issues. The key to the resolution of these issues will be sources of energy capable of maintaining the Earth as a livable planet. There is a growing consensus that to achieve this goal, energy options will have to be developed that no longer rely exclusively on terrestrial sources of energy. The terrestrial sources are either finite, subject to diurnal changes or weather, lead to unacceptable environmental impacts, or cannot meet the increasing global energy demands.

Past developments indicate that the changes from one global energy source such as wood to coal and coal to oil, took place during successive intervals of about 75 years. Because of the protracted time scales required for the wide application of measures to mitigate global ecological deterioration and the potential effects of global warming, it is critical to start now developing and selecting promising energy production options that can sustain global economic growth without creating irreversible damage to the ecology. This also is the context for energy conservation measures, and human behavioral adjustments resulting from lifestyle changes.

As part of any assessment of alternative energy technologies, extraterrestrial sources deserve to be seriously considered. This will provide an understanding of the inexhaustible and renewable energy options available at various stages of global development in the 21st Century. "Historically, wealth has been created when the power of the human intellect combined abundant energy with rich material resources."[1]

Solar Power Satellite Development

More than two decades ago the Solar Power Satellite (SPS) was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

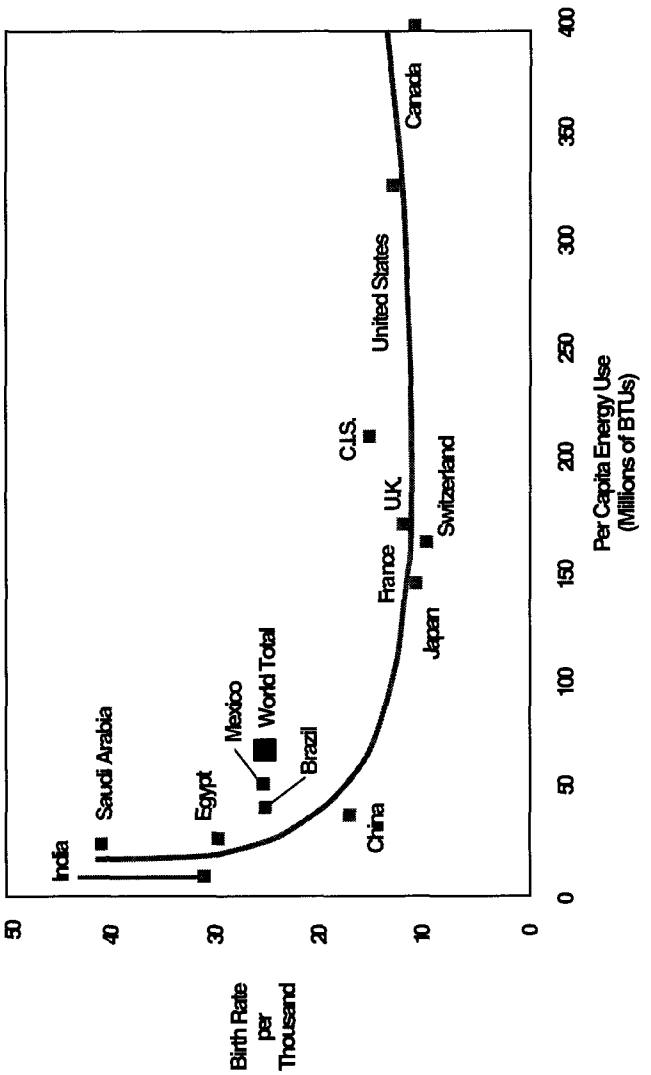

Fig. 1 Comparison of Per Capita Energy vs. Life Expectancy and Birth Rates in Several Developed and Developing Countries

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proposed as a major option for the continuous generation of electricity to meet future global energy needs.[2] This concept involves the use of satellites equipped with solar cells to convert solar radiation into a form of energy that can be transmitted to other space vehicles or to earth, where it can be fed into the existing electric supply network.

Over the intervening years the concept of Solar Power Satellites has been assessed and analyzed and technical, economic and societal issues have been debated,[3] and today SPS is no longer relegated to the pages of science fiction magazines. Efforts to develop a range of technologies applicable to the SPS are under way in Europe,[4] Japan,[5] US[6] and the former USSR.[7]

For example, Japan's 50-year development plan includes R & D on sub-system technology by 2010 so that SPS technology concepts can be developed in the 2010s. Demonstrations of SPS capable of beaming up to 1GW will be carried out by 2020. Full scale operation of 1GW SPS is to start in 2040. The objective is to supply 30% of global baseload power in the growth cycle of the SPS global system after full-scale operations begin.

In Russia, SPS-related developments are continuing on a plan outlined at the International Astronautical Congress in Stockholm in 1985. Demonstrations of applicable technologies included deployment of a 65 ft. diameter space mirror February 4, 1993 to reflect sunlight back to earth, and firing an electron beam from the Mir space stations towards the Swedish Freja satellite about 1000 miles above the space station. Technologies applicable to SPS are being studied at Moscow Aviation Institute,[14] Moscow State University and Dnetropetrovsk University. Several scientists from these institutions are participating in SPS working group meetings in Japan that also include representatives of the French Space Agency. In the early stages of a program, such as the SPS, with potential global applications several decades in the future, it is difficult to project how an SPS program can best be pursued until information on technical, economic and societal issues from seemingly unrelated programs can be applied to guide the selection of appropriate development approaches. During this period different paths may have to be explored so that the most effective generic technologies can be identified, assessed and analyzed, and the most promising options selected. This selection must be based not only on technical criteria

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but also conform to economic requirements, and be in consonance with societal considerations and preferences and the legal and regulatory framework. By analogy to other technology developments that had major impacts both on a national and international scale, the success of programs such as global aviation and satellite communications and their successful applications would not have been possible without a staged development effort extending over a period of decades. A necessary prerequisite for the growth of these programs was the evolution of international agreements, national and international policies and regulations, and the increasing confidence of both public and private sector investors in the applicable technologies based on demonstration projects of increasing scale and complexity, market assessments and customer identification. Satellite programs for global communications and navigation resulted in the formation of international organizations such as Intelsat and Inmarsat, which are examples of the organizational, legal and regulatory framework that will be required for the evolution of a global SPS system.

The SPS is a very fertile field for innovation and many of the proposed concepts involve subtle advantages and disadvantages which may not be apparent without detailed analysis. Moreover, a change made in a particular subsystem often propagates *corresponding changes* throughout the SPS so that the consequences of the new technology cannot be evaluated without a complete system design study.

One useful approach is to consider the functions which must be performed in an operational SPS, instead of concentrating on specific engineering solutions. The primary system functions for any SPS although these functions may overlap in some concepts, are: Collection of solar energy is space, conversion to an intermediate form of energy, transmission of energy to Earth, and reception and conversion to usable energy on Earth.

In addition, there are a variety of secondary functions, which must be carried out in order to make the SPS practical including: Space transportation from Earth to orbit or to the moon, station-keeping and attitude control, construction and assembly in orbit or on the moon, power beam directional control, equipment maintenance, power conditioning and distribution at the SPS transmitter, power conditioning and distribution at the receiver on Earth, thermal control in orbit or on the moon, and ancillary functions at a receiving

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

site location. Changes in the technical approach to perform the primary functions will have a major effect on the configuration, performance, and cost of the SPS; changes in the technologies employed to meet secondary functions may also have an impact.

Rather than focusing attention exclusively on a possible design of SPS that would operate in the 21st Century, it is important to select near-term applications of space power to supply elements of the evolving space infrastructure, to identify markets and customers willing and able to pay for the power supplied in space,[8] and to obtain financing for commercial applications.

Demonstration of space power beamed to meet customer requirements in space,[9] e.g., communication satellites, will assist in the development of policies and the legal and regulatory framework which will have to be in place so that investment capital can be made available to specific space power projects including power beamed from Earth to orbiting satellites and relayed across large distances to users,[10],[11] e.g., Australia to Japan and Africa, or South America to Europe.

However, it is necessary to recognize that planning should proceed now towards the future development of an SPS system that can meet the growing energy needs of both developed and developing nations in the 21st Century, so as to guide near-term technology development and project selection. As practical applications of space power are demonstrated in space and eventually on Earth, societal acceptance of SPS will be of increasing importance. Therefore, assessments of any adverse impacts that may be associated with a global SPS system will be essential to permit mitigation measures to be developed concurrently. The lessons learned from the development of other globally applicable energy resources including coal, oil, natural gas and nuclear power should be applied to the SPS development so that the potential for ecological deterioration will be minimized, adverse health effects avoided, and ecologically compatible energy production methods developed before an SPS system would be introduced on a global scale.

The SPS should be viewed not as a stand-alone program to meet all global energy demands. Instead, it should be part of a global effort that reconciles energy demands with human values and ecological concerns. Ultimately, a global SPS system will operate in concert with other energy production systems. The objective is to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

choose the options that will meet human needs without the long-term adverse effects of existing energy production methods.

In recognition of the potential of the SPS as a large-scale, global option of supplying power to the Earth, the challenges posed by the SPS are being explored through feasibility studies of the technical, economic, environmental, societal, and international issues by a growing number of institutions in several space-faring countries. The approach to the development and demonstration of the technologies applicable to the SPS in Earth orbits and possibly on the lunar surface will extend over several decades. This was also characteristic of the development of other technologies with global applications. An SPS can utilize existing technologies for solar energy conversion such as photovoltaic and thermal-dynamic. Among these conversion technologies, photovoltaic conversion represents a useful starting point because solar cells are already in wide use in satellites. An added incentive is the substantial progress being made in the development of advanced photovoltaic materials and the increasing confidence in the capabilities of achieving the required production volumes and lower costs. Because a photovoltaic process is passive, it could reduce maintenance requirements and achieve a multi-decade lifetime, or even an unlimited lifetime with scheduled service and replacement of defective photovoltaic arrays.

Growth Path

The SPS encompasses a broad range of possible technologies[12]. Some will reach operational readiness during the next decade, and others only after several decades of development. SPS will at first utilize terrestrial and subsequently extraterrestrial resources, to meet an increasing share of global energy demands. For this reason, it may be necessary to consider a growth path for implementing a global SPS system extending over several decades into the 21st Century, as Figure 2 shows.

Although the SPS represents a grand vision for the future it is not possible now to anticipate the complex changes in technology, political circumstances, and economic expansion that will result in sustainable global development.

Therefore, the SPS path for technology development should be integrated with efforts to reduce the uncertainties in climate change predictions, improve energy use efficiencies, and develop effective

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

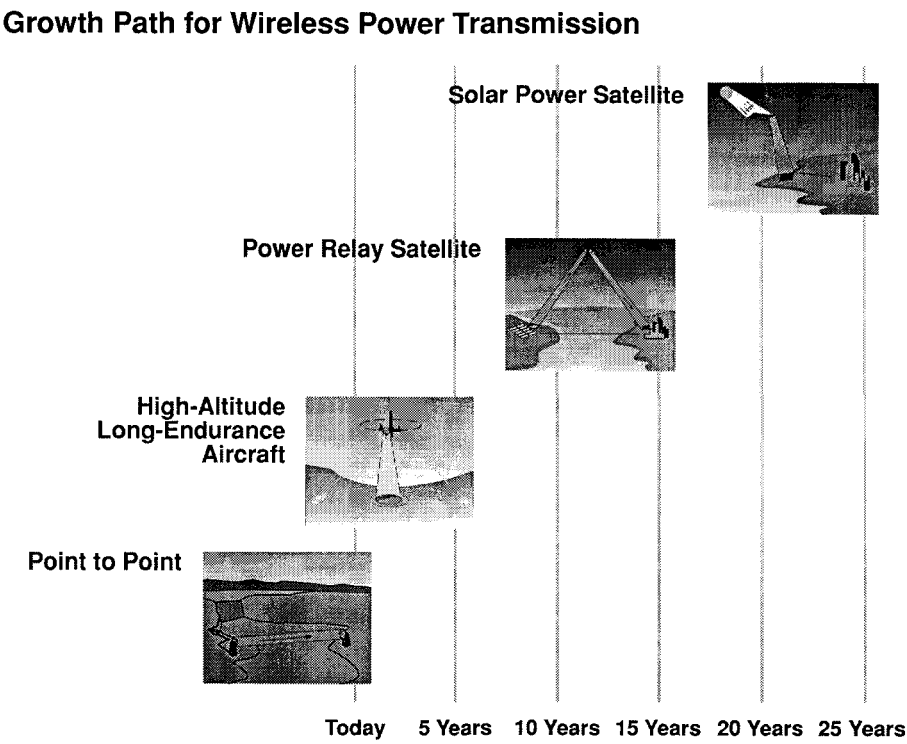

Fig. 2 A Growth Path for the Evolution of Solar Power Satellites

applications of terrestrial renewable energy technologies. Demonstration of SPS-related technologies have started in the 1990s so that the most promising technologies can be selected, their economic value established, and societal concerns associated with environmental impacts assessed and mitigated. For example, technologies applicable to high-altitude, long-endurance aircraft that receive propulsive and payload power beamed from the ground are under development. A successful demonstration of a small scale aircraft was sponsored by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Canadian Department of Communications in 1987. Kyoto University's Radio Atmospheric Science Center flew a similar aircraft designed to relay radio signals for mobile communications in 1992 with the express purpose to test technology applicable to the SPS. A concept for a 10MW SPS was completed in 1993 by Japan's Institute of Space and Astronautical Sciences, as a basis for developing plans for system growth in the future.[13]

Extraterrestrial Resources

The past three decades of the space era have demonstrated that humanity's evolutionary progress need not be confined to the Earth's surface. Satellites for communication, navigation and Earth observation are using solar energy as a means to power various systems that have already significantly affected life on Earth. All indications are that there is no limit to the uses of space technologies for the benefit of society. The capabilities of an increasingly industrialized global civilization to develop new technologies can be applied to the production of energy conversion systems in space to supply the Earth on a scale that may not be possible for systems installed on Earth.

The challenges to develop extraterrestrial energy and material resources are formidable. International efforts and coordination will be required over a period of decades to make the transition to 21st Century energy production methods.[14]

Now is the time to engage in coordinated projects to develop technologies to meet the achievable objectives of global space endeavors, and to recognize the constructive and catalytic role that solar energy received on Earth, in orbit, or on the moon, can play in sustaining the evolution of the planet Earth civilization. Strategic planning by the public and private sectors in several countries is underway now to ensure that space power will be able to make an increasingly important contribution to meet global energy demands. The challenge then, is not only to arrive at an unbiased assessment of viable options that can meet energy requirements at various stages of human development, but also to recognize that management of both terrestrial and extraterrestrial resources will be required on an unprecedented scale.

Conclusions

There may be only a limited time left, measured in a few

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

decades, to open up the space frontier so that the contribution of space resources can be demonstrated before humanity is overwhelmed by the multitude of challenges that have to be faced and met. The space-faring nations are in a unique position to lead this effort as demonstrated by the participants at past World Space Congresses[15]. The question is no longer whether humanity will effectively use space resources but who will be in the vanguard to safeguard the Earth's ecology, and ensure the continued evolution of life on this planet. There still is the opportunity to press forward with space endeavors with achievable goals, adequate resources, and carefully crafted plans to benefit humanity so that the Earth will remain a hospitable planet for humanity and all other forms of life.

References

1. *Pioneering the Space Frontier*, National Commission on Space, p. 3, Bantam Books, New York, 1986.
2. P.E. Glaser, "Power from the Sun: Its Future," *Science*, 162, pp. 857-868).
3. *Space Power*, Council for Social and Economic Studies, 1133 13th St., Washington D.C. 20005
4. Eurospace, "Study of Powersat Systems," Paris, France, 1992.
5. Japan External Trade Organization, "Solar Power Satellite R & D in Japan," New Technology Japan, FY 1991, Tokyo.
6. Report of NASA Lunar Energy Enterprise Case Study Task Force, July 1989, NASA Technical Memorandum 101652.
7. A.S. Korotev, "Prospects of Development of Environmentally Safe System of Supplying Power from Space," presented at Session: Power from Space, Prospects for the 21st Century, IAF World Space Congress, Washington, D.C., 4 September, 1992.
8. P.E. Glaser, "Microwave Power Transmission for Use in Space," *Microwave* Vol. 12, 1986, No. 12, pp. 44-58.
9. K. Chang et al, "Demonstration of Microwave Power Transmission in Space," Proceedings of SPS 91-Power From Space, SEE, Paris, France.
10. A.M. Angelini, "On the Possibility of Intercontinental Power Transmission via Satellite" *Space Power*, Vol. 7, 1988, pp. 175-186.
11. P.E. Glaser, "The Power Relay Satellite, Plenary Lecture, 44th Congress of the International Astronautical Federation, October 16-22, 1993, Graz, Austria
12. P.E. Glaser and P.K. Chapman, "Survey and Documentation of Emerging Technologies for the SPS," U.S. Department of Energy, DOE/ER-0097, April 1981, NTIS, Springfield, VA 22161.
13. SPS Working Group, "SPS 2000 Project Concept", Institute of Space and Astronautical Science, Sagamihara, Japan, 30 July 1993.
14. P.E. Glaser, F.P. Davidson and K.I. Csigi, editors, *Solar Power Satellites - the emerging energy option*, ISBN 471954284, Wiley Praxis Ltd., Chichester, UK. 1993.
15. Proceedings of *SPS 91 - Power from Space*, Paris, 27 to 30 August 1991, Societe des Electriciens et des Electroniciens, Paris, France.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tibet since Mao Zedong

Stephen Bowers
James Madison University

Following the victory of the Mao Zedong's forces in the Chinese civil war, Beijing's leadership established an ambitious set of priorities for Chinese foreign policy. One of their most important objectives was to reclaim foreign territories which they regarded as historically Chinese. Within the context of this policy, Tibet was an especially attractive target. First, while it is, in geographic terms, a large region it had a very small population, thus making it easier for a numerically superior Chinese military to overwhelm the small Tibetan security force. Second, the region had significant deposits of valuable minerals, resources which were useful as the Chinese leadership contemplated an ambitious program of economic transformation of China's mainland. Finally, the Tibetan plateau was, in strategic terms, especially valuable for the defense of China against enemies who would have to pass through this harsh terrain before they could enter the Chinese heartland. Adding Tibet to Beijing's empire was, therefore, an essential part of Mao Zedong's foreign policy for a China under the control of the Communist Party.

In pursuit of this objective, Chinese forces invaded Tibet in 1950 and, by 1951, forced the defeated Tibetan to sign a treaty which made this strategic border area part of the People's Republic of China. In the years following this military defeat, brutal Chinese policies stimulated great resentment of Chinese domination. In 1959, this resentment led to an uprising which was crushed by China's military forces. The Chinese military operations resulted in numerous casualties and prompted Tibet's spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, to flee to India rather than face the prospect of imprisonment by Chinese authorities. When he arrived in India, the Dalai Lama formally repudiated the "Seventeen Point Agreement", the treaty through which he had recognized Chinese control over Tibet.

In the years after the Dalai Lama's flight from Tibet, Chinese authorities began the political, economic, and social transformation of Tibet. Collective agriculture and other socialist innovations were imposed on the region which was, in 1965, formally constituted as an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

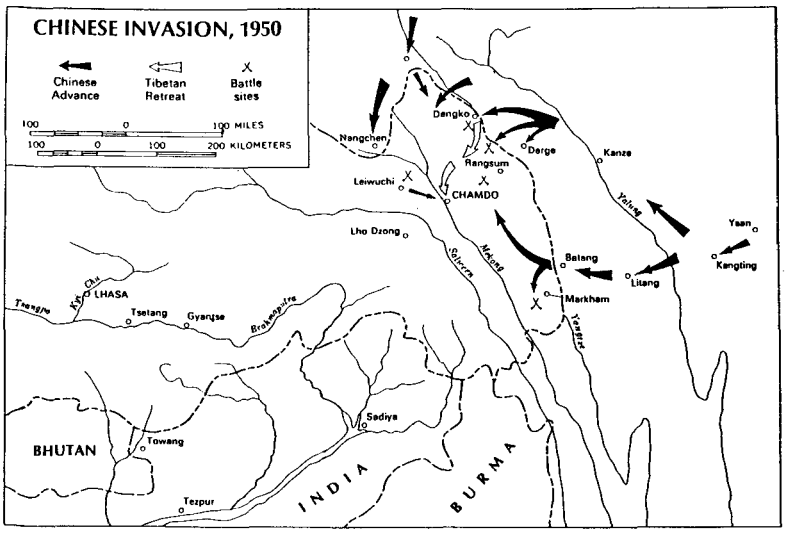

Figure 1. The 1950 Chinese Conquest of Tibet

"autonomous region" of China. The Tibetans were subjected to policies of forced assimilation and Chinese was designated as Tibet's official language. Religious worship was banned and most monasteries and religious monuments were destroyed. Since 1980, Tibet has been formally governed by a "people's government" whose chief official has also been the chairman of the Tibetan Communist Party.

The collapse of communist power in the USSR and Eastern Europe carried the Tibetan crisis beyond the parameters of the four decades following China's invasion. This series of dramatic events which spanned the period from 1989 to 1991 raised questions about the territorial status quo within the communist empire of Central Eurasia and required a broader re-examination of the concept of what constituted a nation. Throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, nations are in the process of defining themselves. Nationalism, long thought to be eroded under the force of modernization, is now seen as one of the most powerful forces shaping the development of contemporary political structures. The collapse of Europe's communist regimes intensified nationalist aspirations in that region and undoubtedly revived the hopes of Tibetans who saw a parallel between their situation and that of the Baltic republics which had been forcefully taken into the Soviet Union.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although China, with 56 different nationalities, is a multi-ethnic state, its minority population, 91 million people, accounts for only 8% of the national population. Therefore, a re-examination of the question of what constitutes a nation is less devastating for China than it was for the USSR. The Chinese situation is also less acute because China is a unitary state which is formally and in reality centralized. Chinese provinces, unlike their Soviet counterparts, are usually organized on the basis of territorial units instead of nationality groups. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule - Tibet, Xinjiang, Ningxia, Guangxi, and Inner Mongolia -, and these are the regions which pose difficulties for Beijing. The ethnic problems of these regions, though modest by Soviet standards, are aggravated by a pattern of regionalism - authoritarian north versus modernizing south - that compounds this dilemma. Furthermore, economic demands, particularly the need for development of China's south-west and the tensions between local governments and private enterprises, further complicate the problem of these regions. Finally, it is important to note that in spite of attempts at forced assimilation, China's ethnic minorities are evidently taking steps to sharply define their national identities, becoming more rather than less distinct as groups. Significantly, this is a process that seems to be coinciding with the integration of Chinese minorities into the Chinese economic and political system. [1]

The violence of the Tibetan-Chinese relationship since 1951 and the suppression of Tibet's religious and cultural heritage have made Tibet one of China's most difficult challenges. The latter 1980s were times of frequent and violent anti-Chinese protests, a period in which the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and other security organizations were called upon, in official terminology, to "put down many riots and incidents of trouble-making."

After a period of relative tranquility, there were outbursts of opposition in Tibet. The confrontations of 1988 were especially significant because they were evidence of the return of open resistance to central authority. The protests in 1989, building on the activism of 1988, were of profound significance not only because of what they demonstrated about the Tibetan situation but because they were an indication of just how far Chinese authorities would go to maintain control. Anti-Chinese demonstrations in Lhasa in March, 1989, prompted a violent and rather well publicized response from the People's Armed Police. In actions which would be imitated a few

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weeks later in Tiananmen Square, the police killed over 100 monks, nuns, and civilians who happened to get in the way. These actions were reinforced by the imposition of martial law. The renewal of protests early in this decade was a reminder of Tibet's continuing and even growing volatility. Overseas Tibetans and those Tibetans who reside elsewhere in China have protested against Beijing's brutal repression of Tibetan nationalists and have supported many of the aims Tibet's resistance movement. [2]

Contemporary Dissidence in Tibet

There are several specific complaints that Tibetans have raised with regard to Chinese involvement in their region. One of the concerns which is most often mentioned is that the demographic character of their homeland is being radically altered by Han migration. Independent Han migration to minority regions of China has, of course, been a fact of life for centuries but it became a state sponsored initiative after the communist victory over the Nationalists. From the early 1980s until early in this decade, approximately six million Chinese moved into Tibet or those regions such as the Amdo Province which were formerly part of Tibet. Tibet has been dramatically affected by this process but, in 1993, Gyaincain Norbu, the region's pro-Chinese governor challenged claims that the Tibetans were being overrun with his statement that fewer that 4% of the people of Tibet have a Han Chinese ethnic background while approximately 96% of the population is ethnic Tibetans. In fact, governmental figures which are based on the smaller territory of what is now formally Tibet claim that the Tibetan population stands at 2.1 million while there are only 79,000 Han Chinese who are permanent residents. This figure does not take into account that large regions which were formerly part of Tibet have now been officially taken away and are overwhelmingly populated by Chinese settlers. Nor does it count the numerous Chinese military and security personnel who serve in Tibet. Looking at the original Tibetan territory, Tibetan exiles claim that there is a total Tibetan population of 6 million and a permanent Chinese presences of 7.5 million. It is, of course, those areas taken from traditional Tibet which have been most devastated demographically. In describing conditions in Qinghai Province, formerly the Tibetan Amdo Province, a Western journalist described the plight of Tibetans who had never even seen Chinese until the years after China's occupation of Tibet. Tibetan shepherds, he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

maintained, now find themselves deprived of their traditional pastures and have been forced to move into the mountains in order to graze their sheep. While the communists have brought "roads, trains, x-rays, television and a measure of prosperity,...they have also brought their own people...", a fact that has aroused considerable resentment on the part of natives of the region. [3]

The movement of ethnic Chinese into the area has been supplemented by the practice of forced sterilizations and forced abortions of Tibetan women. Abortions have even been performed as late as six or seven months into pregnancies and there have been reports of truck loads of women being taken away for abortions or sterilizations. Defenders of Chinese policies in Tibet argue that family planning policies are more relaxed in Tibet and that Tibetan peasants are allowed to have as many children as they wish and normally have anywhere from three to five. [4]

An equally important concern is that Tibet has been singled out for investment ventures by Chinese authorities. Tibetan regulations, unlike those in most of China, do not require that Chinese entrepreneurs be local residents in order to set up business in Tibet. As a result, since the late 1980s, the region was flooded by thousands of Chinese, many of them mere teenagers dispatched by their poor rural families in Sichuan province, the traditional gateway to Tibet, who have come in hopes of making a "fortune" off the region's growing tourist trade and other local opportunities. Consequently, Tibetans have come to fear that their traditional way of life is being eroded by the emergence of the bicycle and shoe repair shops, foreign restaurants, pedicab operations, bars and dance clubs more characteristic of Shanghai than Lhasa. Tibetan locals, realizing that Chinese immigrants operate most of these new business enterprises, have begun to fear a loss of Tibet's national character. Moreover, many of this new entrepreneurial class were seen as exploitive, charging excessive prices that placed severe strains on local residents. Complaints about high prices charged by Chinese merchants led to five days of violent demonstrations against Chinese occupation in May, 1993. Many arrests, injuries, and even deaths resulted from clashes between PLA troops and thousands of demonstrators. [5]

It is important to recognize that during the 1980s, Chinese reforms resulted in economic advancement for all of the country, including the minority areas. However, not all regions of this enormous country derived equal benefits from the changes. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coastal and lowland regions of China, because of fortunate circumstances, enjoyed by far the greatest benefits from this process. By comparison, minority living standards, including those of the Tibetans, already behind those of the Han regions, fell even further behind. Consequently, Tibet continues to face severe economic hardships and well as a sense of relative deprivation in comparison with other regions. Many protestors in recent demonstrations have carried signs and chanted slogans about economic hardships and other references to the difficulties of survival in an economy that has experienced 75% increases in the price of basic commodities. The prospect of dramatic increases in the costs of basic fuels stimulated a sense of both panic as well as hostility toward the Chinese and the Tibetan communists who supported them. Widespread corruption among government workers intensified popular resentment against authorities.

The emphasis on economic modernization, regardless of the intentions of the authorities, has often prompted negative responses among the Tibetans because of the issues and the side-effects of this process. Among the most relevant of these issues is the question of who will direct the programs and who will benefit from those programs. The impression that such programs advance the Han population more than the Tibetans has become a source of discontent and has intensified resistance rather than acceptance of the changes. Even the more or less uncontroversial instances of modernization, such as improvements in the road network, have worked against the Chinese because they have supported improvements in communications critical of the "modernizers". Thus, improved communications have meant that dissident information has spread more quickly and into the previously isolated rural areas. While the Chinese suggest that they have brought "civilization" to a "barbarian" Tibet, the Tibetans regard the Chinese as little more than "outsiders" intent on colonizing their country. [6] In short, there have been severe limits to the positive results to be achieved by such an endeavor if only because of the almost indistinguishable relationship between economic, social, and political concerns.

Some of the most recent demonstrations in Tibet are clear evidence in support of the argument that modernization is a sensitive process which is very difficult to control and direct. The 1993 disturbances illustrate this phenomenon and show how the Chinese authorities have been victimized by a process which they set in motion. The protests began as an economic dispute but the con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

frontation was quickly transformed into a political one. Demonstrators complained about the consequences of central policies in Tibet and eventually Tibetan flags were unfurled in Lhasa's main square. The flags, of course, drew further attention to Tibet's persistent independence movement and were a reminder of the persistence of the national idea among these remote people. The arrests of several flag wavers intensified the political drama, heightened nationalistic feelings, and eventually led the European Community to protest the Tibetan human rights situation.

The process of modernization undertaken by authorities in Beijing has had a dramatic impact on environmental conditions throughout the nation. Tibet in particular has felt the impact of this. Therefore, the ecological devastation of Tibet, an event which mirrors the destruction of the Soviet environment, especially that of non-Russian areas, under Moscow's direction, has become another important concern activating resistance to Chinese control. The clear-cutting of ancient forests, a common Chinese practice in Tibet, has been particularly destructive in that it has escalated the erosion of the region's topsoil. As a result of China's forestry policies, the once flourishing forests of Tibet have been devastated and there is a total of over 100,000 square miles have been completely deforested. This figure, it is important to note, constitutes one-sixth of the Tibetan land mass. [7]

The mining of Tibetan mineral deposits, conducted with complete disregard of environmental requirements, has had an equally devastating ecological impact. Uranium mines have been an especially important source of environmental damage in Tibet. In 1993, there were numerous reports that for two decades China has been using Tibet as a dumping ground for nuclear wastes. One nuclear research site in particular, the Northwest Nuclear Weapons Research and Design Academy, has produced enormous amounts of nuclear wastes since the 1960s. Suspicions that authorities have failed to enforce safety standards for radioactive materials have been fueled by the extremely incidence of cancer in locations near nuclear waste storage facilities. Because of indifference to environmental concerns, many Tibetans have suffered significant health problems after eating meat which had been exposed to radioactive contamination. Loose controls at nuclear sites have made it possible for ordinary citizens to enter these areas, even those in which nuclear tests were conducted in recent years, and remove items which they regard as useful.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Consequently, parts from airplanes and tanks as well as artillery pieces have been taken away by people who innocently thought they could convert them to safe personal use. Local officials who don't understand the threat posed by nuclear residue have not been inclined to prevent such dangerous activities. [8] In another action, completely unrelated to any form of economic modernization, China has used Tibet as a base for nuclear weapons as well as powerful non-nuclear weapons. With increasing frequency, Tibetans have objected to these actions not only because the Tibetans themselves are a peaceful people but also because they realize that such sites are having significant, negative ecological effects. Recently, activists have maintained that there were three such weapons sites with missiles targeted against India. [9]

The Scope of Dissent

Chinese officials have long argued that most Tibetans support their administration of Tibet and that dissident activities are confined to Lhasa and nearby localities. In recent years, however, it has become obvious that dissidents are active in many other communities. Reports of protests, leafletting activities, and demonstrations is support of the Dalai Lama in remote Tibetan towns indicate that unrest has spread well beyond the confines of Lhasa. An especially significant demonstration took place in Shigatse, the site of a monastery where monks were responsible for choosing a new Panchen Lama, the second most important Tibetan religious figure, second only to the Dalai Lama. The purpose of that demonstration was a demand that the Panchen Lama be chosen only with the approval of the Dalai Lama, an arrangement that would have limited Chinese influence on the selection process thus barring selection of a pro-Chinese Tibetan. [10] Activism, according to numerous reports, has also spread into Tibetan communities in Sichuan and other Tibetan communities outside Tibet. In addition, the ranks of dissidents have expanded considerably in terms of the types of people involved and it is no longer the case that only members of the Tibetan religious community are participants in this cause. Businessmen and teachers are increasingly appearing among the ranks of those arrested for their involvement in dissident activities. This confirms suggestions that demands for independence have spread into Tibet's professional and intellectual community and are no longer limited to the Buddhist faithful. [11]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Official Responses to Unrest

Chinese authorities have used a variety of tactics in their effort to suppress the Tibetan independence movement. In many respects, the Chinese have been especially repressive in dealing with Tibet while in others they have been somewhat relaxed and generous. The military and political weapons that they have used emphasize the repressive features of Beijing's Tibetan policies while their social and economic initiatives have underscored their ability to appear generous in dealing with dissidents in this remote region. The repeated condemnations of "splittists" have been a key element in their political strategy. Party propagandists describe the "splittist philosophy" as a remnant of the class struggle. While they argue that the class struggle has been eradicated as the "major contradiction", officials suggest that it does persist in Tibet and that, in this region, the "class struggle will continue to exist for a long time... and may worsen under certain conditions." Since the "domestic and international class struggles are always linked together," it is inevitable, they maintain, that the Tibetan class struggle has intensified with the increase in international attention to the Tibetan situation. With outside interference, authorities argue, resistance to Tibet's incorporation into China would have faded and eventually died. In 1993 Gyaincain Norbu denounced what he described as "evil plots of splittists at home and abroad to split the motherland" and suggested that they were the main security threat to the security of Tibet. [12]

Beijing's political campaign has not been limited to repetitious denunciations of "splittism". Rather, it has been supplemented with a comprehensive educational campaign in Tibetan schools. As part of this effort at political socialization, party officials demand that public schools intensify those general elements of their curriculum which stress Tibet's role as part of the PRC. The objective of this program is to inculcate a belief that Tibet and China are part of one historical entity and to encourage students to reject the "hostile forces abroad" which are, with the aid of the Dalai Lama, attempting to interfere with China's internal affairs. Special booklets aimed at juvenile readers, classroom lectures, party and Communist Youth League activities, special report meetings, and seminars for all students are the instruments that are used for dissemination of officially sanctioned themes. [13]

Propaganda, of course, has not been restricted to the classrooms of Tibet but has been routinely extended to the general population.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of the best illustrations of this occurred in 1991 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the "peaceful liberation of Tibet" by the Chinese. Elaborate and lavish plans for the ceremony commemorating this event were developed by the Chinese. A major propaganda theme developed for the official program was that "economic modernization" and social advancement were consequences of China's occupation of Tibet. While the New York City-based Tibet House organized numerous events during that same period to celebrate Tibetan culture and, by implication, to criticize Chinese actions in Tibet, the Chinese authorities claimed that Tibet's liberation was being celebrated in 28 different nations, glibly suggesting that the Tibet House events constituted acceptance of China's role in the region. In order to prevent disruption of the official events, Chinese authorities placed restrictions on travel to Lhasa and surrounding districts. Overseas Tibetans, likely to object to official themes, were excluded from visits to Tibet during this time. [14] In addition to limiting contacts with overseas Tibetans who might limit the impact of official propaganda themes, authorities have also taken steps to ban the relay into Tibet of programs of the British Broadcasting Corporation and other agencies of the Western news media. [15]

Another element of the political campaign against Tibetan dissidents is the State Security Law. Passed in 1993, this law was, in the words of Li Hui, an official in Tibet's State Security Department, intended to "defend the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system...." In practical terms of its application in Tibet, the 1993 State Security Law has been an instrument in Beijing's propaganda war against separatists. According to Li Hui's report, the law has had several effects on Tibetan security organs. First, the state security police have devoted a great deal of time to studying the law. Second, they have distributed "more than 2,000 wall charts and more than 20,000 booklets on the law". Third, they have worked to mobilize and "exploit public opinion" in support of this legislation through a variety of instruments, including such things as dramatic presentations on television. Finally, in a move that is particularly significant for what it tells us about "security" problems, they have focused and intensified "propaganda and education" efforts for specific groups. In his explanation of this component of their program, Li Hui complained that "leaders and functionaries at some units handling external relations have...gone so far as to create obstructions...", thus making it difficult to advance state security work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because of this attitude, Li Hui explained, there had not been an adequate effort to enforce the State Security Law in certain regions. Enforcement was especially lax in "rural and frontier regions" where some "units and individuals" have completely ignored the demands of the new law. [16]

The specific purpose of the State Security Law was clarified with Li Hui's discussion of how the law related to Tibet's dissident movement. "Hostile forces" outside Tibet, he explained, have never stopped their efforts to undermine China's state security. Li Hui charges that, as part of their campaigns against China, external forces are manipulating the Tibetan separatist movement. As a result, members of the separatist movement are attempting to get political, economic, scientific, and military secrets which they can pass on to foreign powers. In addition to acting as agents for foreign intelligence services, the so-called "splittists" are, in Li Hui's view, linked with outside activists who hope to de-stabilize the Chinese political, economic, and social system. The State Security Law, he maintains, will help officials "expose the splittists" and will encourage average citizens to oppose their efforts to undermine the Chinese state system. [17]

Military instruments have played an important role in the suppression of Tibetan dissent. By the time of the 1991 anniversary of Tibet's occupation, the combined strengths of security forces in the region - army, Public Security Bureau, and People's Armed Police - was more or less equal to the entire Tibetan population and in 1994, Lodi Gyara, president of the International Campaign for Tibet, reported that there are as many Chinese soldiers in Lhasa as there are Tibetans.[18] One observer noted the irony of a situation in which decorations proclaiming the success of the Chinese mission in Tibet were being displayed as convoys of military vehicles moved into the city and city streets were being patrolled by heavily armed Chinese soldiers. [19]

A more sophisticated role for the Chinese military in dealing with Tibet was reflected in a development program of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) which, over a period of five years, utilized civilian aircraft to transport Chinese troops to Tibet. Utilization of this airlift capability, something which was an important part of China's overall military reform program, gave the PLA the capability of rapid deployment to the region in times of crisis. It was also an important and useful innovation in that it protected the health of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

troops by eliminating an arduous overland journey which otherwise would have been made by trucks. For the PLA, this innovation served the dual purpose of promoting regional security while simultaneously advancing PLA military reforms. The intensity of the effort was demonstrated by the fact that in a period of four years over 400 airlifts were conducted. In order to support this dramatic increase in air traffic, the runway at Lhasa's Gonggar airport was expanded, making it the longest in China. This expansion also supported efforts to reduce Tibet's physical isolation. Another example of the use of the military to respond to official fears of unrest came in December, 1993, when for the first time, Tibetan military recruits were stationed outside Tibet. While authorities asserted that this measure was intended to reduce Tibet's isolation from the rest of China, it also served the purpose of taking young Tibetans out of their homeland during a time of unrest, thus removing them from the site of a conflict in which they might well have chosen to resist Beijing's control over Tibet. At the ceremony marking their departure, officials described service outside of their homeland as a great opportunity for the young men to increase their understanding of their country and to "broaden their horizons". [20]

An examination of military promotions in the early 1990s indicates that central authorities are especially willing to recognize and reward those who have effectively directed programs to suppress the independence movement. The Chinese, like so many others, have learned the utility of the promotion list as an instrument of policy. The promotion of Zhang Zhu, the political commissar of Tibet's Regional People's Armed Police Corps and the individual who directed the effort to suppress activists involved in the 1993 unrest, illustrates this. In recognition of his efforts, Zhang Zhu was promoted to the rank of major general and accorded the praise normally reserved for national heroes of the highest order. Zhang Zhu was hailed as a great military leader who was responsible for successfully countering the efforts of "anti-Chinese" forces determined to destroy China's state system and, in particular, preserving Tibet's stability. [21]

The history of counter-insurgency efforts demonstrates the importance of having military forces lay what is seen as a "constructive" rather than a purely repressive role. One of the best illustrations of the value of this tactic was the civic action programs of the Bolivian military in the late 1960s when that nation was threatened by an insurgency led by Che Guevarra. The Chinese

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

military seems to be aware of this lesson and, perhaps as a result of this, it efforts to improve regional stability have not been confined to the purely repressive but have also included civic action programs designed to win popular support. One of their programs has included an effort to, as they put it, "protect the monasteries" by establishing patrols which presumably prevent vandalism aimed against monasteries. The Chinese military has, in addition, supported various local construction projects, often joining with carpenters and others at construction sites. Natural disasters have given the military another valuable opportunity to show that the military plays a constructive role in Tibet and should, therefore, be regarded as an ally. One of the most mundane projects undertaken by the Chinese forces has been its best publicized effort. In the early 1990s, the military began a street maintenance program in which PLA officers and soldiers stationed in Lhasa would attempt to improve the appearance of the city's streets by keeping them swept and cleared of litter. In another important move, Chinese authorities began to recruit pro-Chinese Tibetans who could be trained as officers for the Chinese army. Hoping that their presence among the officers corps would improve the PLA's relationship with the locals, authorities elevated numerous pro-Chinese Tibetans into service as military officers. In 1993, authorities claimed that two-thirds of the PLA officers were ethnic Tibetans and that four former Tibetan serfs were now serving as PLA major generals. [22]

The effort to give Chinese efforts a greater Tibetan complexion has included a focus on the Buddhist religious community. As part of this endeavor military training teams were sent to many of Tibet's largest monasteries in the late 1980s. The objective of the training teams was to encourage monks to develop a greater sense of responsibility. As part of this, military authorities set out to modify the Buddhists scriptures in such a way as to include "national defense" as part of that religious doctrine. This tactic is an intensification of earlier efforts to create a Marxist variation of Buddhism and reflects a more sophisticated view of how to deal with the persistence of the Buddhist faith in Tibet.

The cultivation of Tibetan religious leaders is another important part of official efforts to make their programs more palatable to the local populace. The official objective is to identify local religious figures who might, in some way, become advocates of Beijing's policies in Tibet. From time to time, buddhas and lamas who are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

members of the Chinese Buddhist Association have produced declarations of Chinese responsibility for whatever progress has taken place in Tibet over the past four decades. At the same time, spokesmen for the Chinese Buddhist Association have argued that "reactionary forces abroad" are involved in a campaign to sever Tibet from the Chinese socialist family of which it is, they claim, a historic component.

Chinese efforts to enlist elements of the Buddhist religious community to support Beijing's Tibetan policies have not been limited to these relatively restrained measures. In an effort to insure that those who do not respond to official efforts to support Chinese policy, Tibetan officials are asking that the Chinese Communist Party "closely monitor Tibetan monasteries and places of worship." Chen Kuiyuan, first secretary of the Tibetan Communist Party said that such an action was necessary because "criminals" had been using religion as a cover for illegal activities. In Chen's view, a campaign to disrupt the "historic unity" of the Chinese people, with China including Tibet, was being mounted by both domestic and foreign separatist forces. An important vehicle for this campaign, according to Chen, is Buddhist religious organizations. Not surprisingly, Chinese officials have underscored this view with restrictions on the nation's religious orders. Those restrictions were made public late in 1993 with the announcement of limits on the number of monks and nuns who could be granted admission into the Buddhist order. As justification for these limits, the leader of one of Tibet's monasteries, the Dajin Monastery, declared that monasteries in Tibet were simply too poor to support a large number of monks and nuns. Many monks, he explained, were required to live on alms from worshippers because the monastery didn't have sufficient funds to support them. The restrictions, therefore, were justified as a measure that would help make the monasteries self-supporting institutions. An additional justification for the restrictions, the leader insisted, was that having fewer members in the order would probably improve the quality of the membership and keep out individuals such as those politically activist nuns and monks who have supported Tibetan independence movement. In addition to limits on membership in the order, Tibetan officials instituted a series of new regulations to limit the activities of monks and nuns. One of the most significant regulations was the prohibition on monks' entering tea houses, restaurants and other places where political activists gather. Under the regulations, monks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have to obtain permission in order to be away from the monastery for a period of more than two weeks. Monks who violate this regulation are subject to dismissal from the order and face the prospect of other legal actions against them. Increased physical security around many of Tibet's monasteries is another indication of a determination to monitor the activities of the religious community. In 1994, officials established a network of blockade and military checkpoints on the roads to monasteries in the vicinity of Lhasa. In many cases, military installations have been established next to or within sight of monasteries. [23] Religious orders associated with political activism have been subjected to especially severe measures, a fact that was illustrated at the Garu nunnery, an institution located a few miles north of Lhasa, in 1993. At the Garu nunnery, a political "re-education" unit was instituted in an effort to correct what officials saw as the "political immaturity" of the members of the order. The Garu nunnery is one of Tibet's largest and has a long record of support for Tibet's independence movement. In recent crackdowns, many nuns were imprisoned because of their political activism. Officials have indicated that if the activism of the nuns continues, the nunnery may be subjected to the ultimate sanction of a complete shutdown. [24]

Repressive measures taken against Tibet's religious institutions have been accompanied by a general increase in official efforts to suppress religious activities in China. Members of the Christian underground, estimated by 1993 to have reached 60 or 70 million, have increasingly been detained, fined, and often tortured. Fines for organizing "illegal" religious meetings, generally imposed by Public Security officials in rural areas, range from as little as $67 to as much as $938. Because permits for such meetings are rarely granted, all religious services are subject to severe financial penalties. Since the fines are rarely accompanied by any documentation, they amount to little more than official robbery for which no appeals can be made to higher authorities. In some provinces, Christians' livestock, crops, and even furniture are confiscated. Uncooperative Christians are often tortured while many have simply disappeared. [25]

In view of the inconsistent record of outright repression as a weapon against especially determined ethnic groups, the Chinese have offered modernization as an alternative to nationalism. Consequently, authorities recognize that their security interests are better served by successful economic programs. With the demonstrated ability of Tibet's independence movement to draw upon economic grievances

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as well as political and social concerns, Chinese authorities obviously recognize the importance of developing sound economic policies for the region. The 1993 riots in Lhasa demonstrated the volatility of this combination of motivations as popular protests against price increases on essential commodities led to several days of demonstrations against Chinese rule. Tibetan officials have been candid in admitting that economic conditions in Tibet have been poor and that the per capita income of its population is well below China's national average. Chen Kuiyuan, a member of the regional party committee, speaking at the 7th National People's Congress, Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of Tibet's regional party committee, admitted that Tibet's industrial and agricultural rates were a source of economic difficulty. Tibet's economic reforms, Chen Kuiyuan argued, would enhance the economic standing for all minority areas and, in so doing, would strengthen China's national unity. [26]

Against the background of reform policies designed to improve the standards of living of PRC citizens, authorities have taken steps to initiate programs that will also improve the materials benefits enjoyed by Tibetans. Each year, Beijing dismisses Tibetan taxes due to the central government and extends anywhere from $200 million to $300 million in economic subsidies. According to recent figures, only 3,282 Tibetan families pay taxes. In fact, Tibetans are the only Chinese ethnic group which benefits from such generous taxation policies and Chinese officials consistently justify these measures as necessary to promote Tibet's economic and commercial development. In addition to these generous tax policies, Chinese officials have been boasting that the "market economy", another instrument for promotion of greater material benefits, was being established in Tibet. Tibet's "market economy" features more important preferential taxing policies as well as program extending loans for entrepreneurial projects and measures which would allow individuals to lease land. In connection with the programs of this "market economy", authorities have approved numerous joint projects between Tibetan enterprises and enterprises in cities elsewhere in China. As a tribute to the emergence of a new entrepreneurial class, the number of individual businessmen in Lhasa increased dramatically. In 1980, there were only five hundred Tibetans private commercial endeavors. By 1994, this number had risen to 14,000, most of which are, authorities insist, operated by local ethnic Tibetans. According to official statistics, there are 40,487 individual households involved in some aspect of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

private industrial and commercial ventures and 29,483 of them are Tibetans. In 1994, officials opened a securities exchange operation in Lhasa as part of an effort to encourage commercial growth. [27]

The success of Chinese economic policies, according to Beijing, is seen not only in the emergence of a "market economy", but is also demonstrated by increases in Tibet's gross domestic output. GDP for 1993, they insist, had risen above the 1992 GDP figure by 8.1%. Even agriculture, that most difficult segment of any nation's economy, has, according to authorities, improved under the force of Beijing's policies. As evidence, they cite what they describe as six consecutive years of increasingly abundant harvests. Extensive capital projects in energy, transportation, and telecommunication have been an important feature of central policies for Tibet. Under plans which were announced in 1994, all of southwest China, including Tibet, are to become a major source of hydroelectric power for the Chinese nation. [28] This plan, not only of great significance for the PRC's national economy, will also do much to intensify the development of Tibet. Another component of the developmental plan for Tibet has been an important upgrading of the region's highways. By 1994, the Heihe-Gamdo Highway was complete and important renovations were being undertaken on sections of the China-Nepal Highway as well as the road networks leading int Qinghai Province and into Sichuan. [29] Improvements in the road network of this isolated region are crucial for improving tourism and foreign trade, both of which are crucial for the development of south-west China. An emphasis on foreign trade, in particular, has emerged as an economic mainstay for the region and rose by 55% in 1993. The stress on tourism, somewhat restrained because of Chinese concern over who might actually visit Tibet, has led to an increase in the number of tourists coming into Lhasa. In 1994, 26,000 foreign tourists visited Tibet, an especially significant figure because in the recent past most foreigners had been barred from the area. Yet, there are limits to the Tibetan reform process and, while most economic specialists recognize that the region's greatest potential might lie in the development of a tourist industry which would attract considerable amounts of hard currency, the Chinese authorities refuse to make concessions on this point. From the viewpoint of communist authorities, such a developmental strategy was, because of the intensification of political dissidence the region, regarded as far too risky. [30]

Following the violence of 1988 and 1989, authorities recognized

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the difficult relationship between Tibetans and Chinese might be eased through simple and obvious measures such as better communications. In order to facilitate this, Hu Jintao, after arriving in Tibet in January, 1989 to become head of the Tibetan Communist Party, required Chinese cadres under the age of 45 to take a course in the Tibetan language. Many governmental departments began to devote half a day each week for language instruction in the office. [31]

Where the more sophisticated or specialized responses to unrest have fallen short of their goals, Chinese authorities have not hesitated to supplement them with the direct and often brutal methods most commonly associated with dictatorships. By 1994, it was known that Lhasa alone had six prisons which, at any time, held hundred of political prisoners. According to human rights analysts, from 1993 to 1994, the number of political prisoners held in Lhasa's six prison camps rose by 30%. Many of the prisoners were held incommunicado and were often subjected to endless interrogations and beatings. Elsewhere in Tibet, while the exact number of regional prisons and labor camps is unknown, it is widely believed that it is a system capable of holding large numbers of dissidents. There have been reports that in recent years thousands of Tibetans have died in the notorious Xining labor complex in Qinhai province, a huge region which was once part of Tibet and is now believed to hold perhaps ten million Chinese prisoners.[32] Official designation of a variety of seemingly harmless activities, such as the possession of a book by the Dalai Lama or the display of a Tibetan flag, as criminal offenses and a large network of informers guarantees that this penal system is always full and that tens of thousands of Tibetans live in fear. [33] The highest communist officials of Tibet are determined to maintain such repressive measures, a commitment that was underscored in 1993 by the Communist Party's call for a further crackdown on so-called "separatists". Charging that some party cadres speak as though they are loyal supporters of the party's policies in Tibet while they are, in fact, secret supporters of the Dalai Lama, the leadership has called for a purge of suspected cadres. In moves associated with this declaration, a large number of accused "separatists" were sentenced to prison terms averaging seven and one-half years. In addition, the mayor of Lhasa, who had consistently supported party policies on the Tibetan dissidents, was removed from his position because the leadership felt that his actions against demonstrators were to reserved while two pro-independence demonstrators were executed. [34]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tibet as a Contemporary International Issue

As was noted previously, Tibet has enjoyed inconsistent success in attracting other nations to join it in resisting its incorporation into China. The British and US historical record illustrates the difficulties inherent in enlisting such support. Because both nations have sought good relations with the Chinese, they have avoided recognition of Tibetan independence, fearing that such an action would be seen as an effort to detach Tibet from China. British and American commercial interests have often been the motivations of a policy that seemed to ignore Tibetan protests. [35]

Yet, in spite of this historical record of reluctance, the Tibetan issue has made its way onto the international agenda, especially in recent years. Apparently contained since the end of China's self-imposed isolation in the early 1970s, it re-emerged as an international issue in the post-communist era. As Tibetan resistance again assumed an active, militant tone, the attention of world governments was increasingly focused upon Tibet's plight. The Dalai Lama, continually traveling around the world visiting governmental leaders and opinion-makers, served as a constant reminder of an atrocity of the 1950s and informed all who would listen that the consequences of the Chinese invasion of Tibet were still being felt with dramatic and tragic impact.

In April, 1991, the Dalai Lama enjoyed one of his most important diplomatic and political triumphs when he met with the President of the United States. President George Bush, in meeting with the Dalai Lama, combined both Tibetan and U.S. interests by, first, calling attention to shortcomings in China's human rights policy and, second, coupling criticisms of Chinese human rights violations with a denunciation of China's arms sales policy, a policy which was associated with the promotion of instability in regions important to American interests. Shortly after meeting with President Bush, the Dalai Lama also met with members of the United Congress who joined in denouncing China's continued occupation of Tibet. A Congressional resolution formalized the United States' opposition to China's role in Tibet and attempted to pressure Beijing to modify its behavior in that region. U.S. interest in the Tibetan situation was reflected in its decision in 1991 to change immigration policy in order to allow 1,000 Tibetans, classified as refugees, to enter the United States. In the previous twenty years, only 500 Tibetans had entered the U.S. and no American administration had been willing to extend refugee status to displaced Tibetans. [36]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The change of administrations in the United States did not inhibit the American concern for the Tibetan situation. In April, 1994, the Dalai Lama met with President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore for a discussion of China's violations of religious and cultural rights in Tibet. Although the administration did eventually renew its most favored nation trade relationship with China, administration spokesmen declared that China's human rights record, especially as it related to Tibet, was one of the factors taken into account in making a decision on MFN renewal. [37] Just prior to a meeting between the US Secretary of State and the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chinese authorities, obviously aware of US and Western concern over its Tibetan human rights record, released two Tibetan dissidents who had been detained though not yet charged with any specific offenses. [38] In spite of renewing most favored nation trade status with China, the US government continued to support many of the concerns of the Tibetan resistance movement. In 1994, the U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, raised a important concern for Tibetans when he asked the Chinese government to provide information about 106 people believed to be imprisoned in Tibet because of religious or political views. [39] It is, however, important to note that while the United States supports protection of human rights and argues that the Tibetans have the right to enjoy a distinct cultural identity, it does recognize Tibet as being, in a political sense, part of China. The administration's concern for protecting human rights in Tibet was reelected in a specific demand that Chinese officials agree to open a dialogue with the Dalai Lama. [40] The position of the U.S. Congress which is somewhat more emphatic. Evidence of the Congressional attitude appeared in the 1994 foreign relations authorization bill which described Tibet as an "occupied sovereign country". [41]

Unrest in Tibet has routinely motivated foreign criticism of China's human rights record and forced Chinese authorities to respond in a manner that has made the Tibetan issue more and more of an international issue. When thousands of Tibetans protested against price increases in the spring of 1993, Chinese authorities responded by suggesting that foreign intervention rather than local conditions had caused the disturbances. While the Chinese Foreign Ministry insisted that the incident was a purely "internal" matter, *Ta Kung Pau*, a Beijing-owned newspaper published in Hong Kong, insisting that local residents were pleased by official suppression of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the protests, argued that foreign "secret agents", working with local provocateurs, had sparked the riots. According to the paper, "secrets agents" entered Tibet as tourists and, taking advantage of local problems, encouraged residents to oppose Beijing's authority. The "secret agents", according to *Ta Kung Pao*, were working in conjunction with "anti-Chinese forces" and "pro-Dalai Lama separatists", evidently in an effort to embarrass the Chinese government as the United States was considering renewal of most favored-nation trade status for China. [42]

Conclusion: Prospects for Resolution

The Tibetan crisis, with its periodic explosions, has existed since the Chinese occupation of the region in 1950 and, consequently, has become almost routine. Yet, it is useful to consider various options by which the Tibetan problem might be resolved and to evaluate those scenarios in terms of their feasibility.

The first possible option is the complete suppression of Tibet's independence movement. The suppression of Tibetan nationalism and the full assimilation of Tibetan into China is the option pursued by Chinese authorities. Certain conditions are necessary to support this option. The first is international acceptance of this situation. A second condition is political and military resolve by Beijing and a willingness to accept the sanctions and protests that might follow as a result of the activities of overseas Tibetans. An important condition likely to be associated with this option is the continuation of discrimination against Tibetans in their own homeland.

A second option is autonomy within China. This is the position that has long been advocated by the Dalai Lama. Rejecting militants' calls for violence against the Chinese, the Dalai Lama has called for extensive Tibetan autonomy within China. Under his plan, Tibetans would have the right to select their own government but Chinese authorities would continue to control foreign relations and national defense. Certain conditions are necessary to support this option. The first is that Beijing must be willing to grant Tibet specific freedoms including broader rights for Tibetans and an end to cultural repression. By 1994, the prospects for this option had, according to the Dalai Lama, declined because of pressure from Tibetans who had grown weary of efforts to negotiate with Beijing over this matter. [43]

A third option is complete independence for Tibet. Many among the overseas Tibetan community support the option of full Tibetan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

independence and reject the more moderate position generally taken by the Dalai Lama. Pursuit of this option raises some important questions. The first is could Tibet survive as an independent state? The easiest response to this question is the argument that there is historical justification for Tibetan independence. It is also important to recognize that there are other independent nations comparable to Tibet in terms of both economic and political resources. Undoubtedly, Tibet's economic self-sufficiency could be difficult to attain but, in this respect, it would not be alone. Certain conditions are necessary to support this option. The first is international support for independence. That support might need to take the form of a willingness on the part of other nations to grant concessions to China in return for this action. Another necessary condition for achievement of this option is a weakened China which could feel compelled to make such an important concession in return for needed benefits from wealthy Western supported of Tibetan independence. Militant Tibetan students, such as those who have often demonstrated in New Delhi, are, with increasing frequency, calling for guerrilla warfare as a way of achieving this objective. While the prospects for such an endeavor may at first glance appear poor, the experience of the Soviets in Afghanistan indicate that a powerful force can be defeated if the terrain and the adversary pose the necessary difficulties. However, the non-violent orientation of the Tibetans themselves is very different from that of the Afghans who faced the Soviet Army and works against the prospects of an insurgency.

Another important question associated with the third option is whether or not China could survive. This question is relevant not because Tibet by itself is so important to China but because the Chinese claim upon Tibet is similar to the claims which also justify Chinese control over Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and Xinjiang (East Turkestan). If you consider, therefore, all four of these regions and calculate the consequences of their collective loss from China, there emerges a picture of a China which would not be like the present nation. Many of the minority areas have rich and important natural resources, resources that are especially valuable to a China that has embarked on an ambitious course of domestic reforms. Not only do the collective minority areas possess significant amounts of oil and minerals, they also produce an estimated 80% of China's milk and meat and have equal amounts of the nation's livestock. Taking away all of these regions would lead to a dramatic reduction in the size of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Chinese nation. In fact, it would be less than half its present size and would lose its borders with India, Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Korea. Its border with the former Soviet Union would be reduced to a mere fraction of what it is today. [44] The loss of territory, prestige, and productive capacity associated with such an event might well leave China incapable of enduring as a state.

In the present international environment, the Chinese leadership has been successful in gaining most necessary concessions from the United States and other Western nations. Even when those concessions are accompanied by mild verbal rebukes such as that which came with the US granting of MFN in 1994, they nevertheless enable authorities to meet their policy goals. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to expect Beijing to continue to resist both international and domestic pressures to alter the status of Tibet. The additional goodwill that they might gain would be more than offset by the loss of security that would be generated by yielding their position in Tibet. While there may be periodic "liberalizations" in Beijing's nationalities policies as they relate to this region, the region itself is likely to continue as a constituent part of the People's Republic of China. The strategic and economic value of Tibet ensures that the Chinese authorities, as long as they maintain sovereignty over their mainland empire, will not relinquish control over this remote land.

This article is extracted from the new JSPES monograph number 23, entitled *Tibet: Endurance of the National Idea* (See rear cover for further details).

Notes

1. Donald R. DeGlopper, "Chinese Nationality Policy and 'The Tibetan Question'", *Problems of Communism*, November-December, 1990, pp. 84-85 and *Ming Pao* (Hong Kong), 27 February 1994, p. b11.
2. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report - China*, (FBIS) 1 February 1993, p. 56
3. Nicholas D. Kristof, "In Corner of Tibet, Chinese Now Predominate", The New York Times, 9 September, 1991, p. A6
4. *FBIS-China*, 24 May 1993, p. 72, Paul Ingram, "The Tragedy of Tibet", *Contemporary Review*, September, 1992, p. 124, and Nicholas D. Kristof, "To Beijing's Surprise, the Tibetans are Still Restive", *The New York Times*, 7 Oct. 1990, p. A4.
5. *Facts on File*, Vol. 53, No. 2741, 10 June 1993, p. 436
6. John Bray, "China and Tibet: An End to Empire?", *The World Today*, December, 1990, pp. 221-223.
7. Paul Ingram, "The Tragedy of Tibet", *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1992, p. 125

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

8. Sheryl WuDunn, "Nuclear Dump Site Reported in Tibet", *The New York Times*, 19 April 1993, p. A18
9. *Facts on File*, Vol 53, No. 2738, 20 May 1993, p. 365
10. Nicholas D. Kristof, "Protests in Tibet Reported on the Rise", *The New York Times*, 21 June 1992.
11. *South China Morning Post*, 9 April 1990, p. 10
12. *Xizang Ribao* (Lhasa), 15 November 1993, p. 3
13. Ibid., 11 October 1993, p. 2
14. Nancy Nash, "Forced Celebrations", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 April 1991, pp. 18-19
15. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service: Daily Reports - China*, 10 March 1994, p. 89
16. *Xizang Ribao* (Lhasa), 22 February 1994, p. 1
17. Ibid., p.3
18. *Eastern Express* (Hong Kong), 5 March 1994, p. 6
19. Ibid., p. 18
20. *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 19 Feb. 1994, p. 27 and *FBIS-China*, 25 Jan. 1994, p. 90
21. *FBIS-China*, 4 January 1994, p. 61
22. *FBIS-China*, 13 January 1993, p. 45
23. *Eastern Express* (Hong Kong), 5 March 1994, p. 6
24. *South China Morning Post*, 22 July 1993, p.10 and *FBIS-China*, 2 Dec. 1993, p.53
25. *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), 24 December 1993, p. 7
26. *Kyodo* (Tokyo), 24 June 1993, p. 2
27. *Xizang Ribao* (Lhasa), 4 February 1994, p. 1
28. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service - Daily Report, China,* 21 March 1994, p. 71
29. Ibid, 24 March 1994, p. 75
30. *FBIS-China*, 25 January 1994, p. 90
31. *FBIS Daily Report* (China), 7 March 1989, p. 48.
32. Paul Ingram, "The Tragedy of Tibet", *Contemporary Review*, September, 1992, p. 122 and *Eastern Express* (Hong Kong), 5 March 1994, p. 6.
33. Melissa Mathison, "Where is Gendun Rinchen?", *The New York Times*, 2 October 1993. p. A10
34. Nicholas Kristof, "Communist Party Chief Calls for a Purge in Tibet", *The New York Times*, 14 February 1993, p. 11.
35. DeGlopper, p. 87
36. *Congressional Quarterly*, 20 April 1991, p. 1002 and *The New York Times*, 31 August 1991, p. A14.
37. *The New York Times*, 30 April 1994.
38. *Ibid*, 14 January 1994.
39. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service - Daily Reports, China*, 17 March 1994, p. 4.
40. *The New York Times*, 28 April 1994, p. A10
41. Ibid, 5 May 1994.
42. "China: Beijing Plays Down Tibet Riot, Blames Foreign Agents", *FBIS Trends*, 2 June 1993, pp. 24-25
43. *The New York Times*, 11 March 1994.
44. Paul Ingram, "The Tragedy of Tibet", *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1992, p. 122.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clan Conflicts, Hezbollah and the Lebanese State

A. Nizar Hamzeh
American University of Beirut

The horrible crime which took place in Ba'albek on March 30, 1994, when a sixteen year-old boy from Al-Awadah's clan killed a woman from Al-Nasreddine's clan with her two children, was decisively handled and judged by Hezbollah. It was the first time a criminal was publicly handed by his family to Hezbollah and not to the Lebanese authorities.

Perhaps to some Lebanese people and observers, militias' powers were more or less tolerated during the years of war due to the virtual absence of the Lebanese governmental institutions. However, with the return of the state's laws and institutions after the 1989 Ta'if agreement, militia acts are no longer justified.[1] Despite the outcry by many people that law and order must be preserved solely by the state's authorities to the exclusion of all illegal powers, nobody has seriously questioned why Hezbollah has managed to have a decisive role in the Biqa'i clan conflicts over the state's role. This article will attempt to answer that question by focusing on clan conflicts under tribal tradition, the Lebanese state's laws, and Hezbollah's role and mechanisms in group conflicts. Indeed, the analysis will draw attention to the implications of Hezbollah's role vis-a-vis the Lebanese state's role.

Clan Conflicts and Tribal Tradition

The criteria for identifying groups that appear in the literature as tribal confederations, tribes, clans or segments vary. For instance, Dale F. Eickleman has identified four different notions of tribe in the Middle East. The one that concerns us here is the notion of tribe or clan as descent group, conforming with Ibn Khaldun's conception of solidarity, *a'sabiyya* – such a group is united by common genealogy.[2] In Lebanon there are two clans: a Maronite clan or *a'shira* in the northern countryside; and a Shi'a one in the eastern countryside of Lebanon's western mountains, especially the rugged mountain of Ba'albek-Hermil district.[3] However, the Hermili Shi'a clans who are the focus of this paper can be divided into two segments:[4]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a. *A'shair* Shamasiyyah: Al-Shamas, Al-Elawh, Al-Dandash, Al-Alam, Al-Awad, Al-Nasreddine, and Al-Ala'eddine.

b. *A'shair* Zouaiteriyyah: Al-Zouaiter, Al-Jafar, Al-Noon, AI-Amhaz, Al-Mukdad, Al-Hajj-Hasan, Al-Shryif, and Al-Rabah.

These clans belong to a more broad *a'sabiyyah* which is known as *al-A'shair* Al-Hamadiyyah. The Hamadiyyah's *a'sabiyya* is not necessarily an expression of common genealogy, but more of a unified political formula of loyalty which connects these clans to Al-Hamadeh's clan. Al-Hamadeh has dominated the authoritarian position of the shaykhdom, or *mashyakha*, until recently through the figure of Sabri Hamadeh (died 1976).[5]

Thus, each clan of the Shamasi or Zouaiteri segment is a narrower and limited *a'sabiyya* united by common genealogy under the more broad Hamadiyyah. When the dissolution of political loyalty relationships occurred in 1926 between the segments and the *mashyakha*,[6] each clan became an independent solidarity group which has exercised full power over its members. In the area of Ba'albek, however, Al-Haidar, Al-Husayni, and AIYaghi have been historically more dominant than both the broad Hamadiyyah and the narrower ones.[7]

Furthermore, the Shi'a Biqa'i clans are territorially distinct.[8] Territorial distinction does not necessarily imply that they are cut off from other parts of the country. Rather, it means that the clans are mainly found in the northern part of the Biqa', specifically in the rugged or *jurd* mountain of Hermil. Al-Jurd came under the influence of the Hamadiyyeh's clans in the l8th century after they were defeated by the shehaby's dynasty in their original residence of Jubail, Batroun and Zawiyya. Once they settled in *aljurd* of Hermil and the area of Ba'albek, each clan brought part of the territory under its control.[9] Until recently, the clans' areas were dominated by a pastoral and agricultural population for whom grain agriculture, raising goats, and making coal constituted for a long time the economic resources for their living. However, once the *hash* agriculture was introduced in the 1950s, grain and coal retreated for a more marketable commodity.[10] As a result of the new wealth, clans' members moved from the hardy mountain areas to settle in the major cities and towns such as Hermil, Ba'albek, and as far as Beirut. Although they were subjected to the Lebanese state authorities and the urban way of life, they have continued to emulate and recreate in a traditional fashion,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

especially at times of crisis.[11]

However, the clans were not left untouched by the complexity of modern life.[12] The most important impact on tribal tradition and its practices is that the kindred group--a group within which there is no blood feud[13]--had diminished and subdued to challenges and competition within the same group. For instance, in 1992 two families from al-Zouaiter were locked in a bloody fight over the clan's leadership.[14] Such a fight demonstrates that there is no clear rule of succession and that blood feuds might take place within a clan as much as they do between clans. Hence, succession and leadership is very much determined by the balance of power and prestige among a clan's members, rather than by a simple application of a rule. In any case, it is the *za'im* to whom they often resort (not the Lebanese state institutions) for guidance, and if needed for arbitration and mediation about a whole variety of cases such as theft, murder, divorce, adultery, inheritance, marriage, usage of water wells, animal incursions and so forth.

The Biqa'i clans also conform to Ernest Gellner's concept "segmentary-lineage organization," which means "the existence of cohesion social groups that ensure order by joint effort. They have a high military participation ratio...in practice all adult males take part in organized violence and share the risks involved."[15]

The most striking aspect of organized violence and tribal practices among the Biqa'i clans is vendetta or *th'ar*, since the feud is characteristic of such a society. For instance, after a deliberate or undeliberate killing, the male relatives of the victim who constitute part of his *khamsa* or immediate family are obliged according to tribal tradition, or *urf*, to seek out the murderer and take their revenge upon him and his close relatives, or upon prominent leaders of the killer's clan.[16] The vendetta follows immediately after the killing, and the victim's clan is thus engaged in a blood feud with the killer's clan, known as "the boiling of the blood." The murderer himself usually takes refuge with a powerful *za'im* of a nearby clan. Under the protection, which may last for some years, the murderer arranges through influential mediators for a truce. The conditions of truce are spelled out by local notables or *wujaha'*. The case is then placed before an arbiter known as *al-a'rifah* (an old term for a person who is well versed in urf relating to blood-feuds). After hearing the witnesses, *al-a'rifah* announces his verdict which centers around the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

actual amount of compensation or *diya* that should be paid by the murderer. Then a large feast is prepared at the expense of the murderer in which both clans are considered finally reconciled.[17]

Although the *Qur'an* has made the crime a matter for the whole community, irrespective of blood relationships, the Islamic state in the early days failed to dissolve tribal structures. On the contrary, it adapted the structure of state to them.[18] This creates a dilemma that has not been resolved in most Islamic and Arab countries, including Lebanon.

The Lebanese State and Clan Conflicts

With the emergence of the Lebanese state, the legal system started to draw further away from its inheritance of Ottoman and Islamic law. Accordingly, the customary tribal practices of the Biqa'i clans were not left untouched by the new legal system. The process was nevertheless a gradual one and persistently controversial.

During the Ottoman Empire and after 1839 two legal systems came into existence side by side: the *Shari'a* law and the legislation based on Western ideas.[19] Various means were adopted to avoid conflict of jurisdiction between the *Shari'a* courts and the *nizam* or civil courts, with regard to both punishment or *qisas* and *diya*. It appears that the usual practice was for prosecution to be dealt with in the first instance by the civil court. However, if the injured party then wished to assess his rights under the *Shari'a* law, the case was remitted after sentence to the *Shari'a* tribunal for assessment of *diya*. The award of compensation by the *Shari'a* court had no effect upon the execution of the sentence ordered by the civil court.[20] The most significant element of this process is that the *nizam* courts were given the right to prosecute and punish those offenses which are considered by the *nizam* court as crimes.

Similarly, the Lebanese Code of Obligations and Contracts which came into effect in 1934 incorporates the principles of unrestricted judicial evaluation and the award of integral reparation of all damages caused as a result of a dispute.[21] However, one year after the independence of Lebanon, the Lebanese Penal Code, which came into operation in 1944, contained no reference to *diya*, but only to the more familiar punishments of death, imprisonment, and fines.[22] Since 1944, the Lebanese courts have continued with increased frequency to evaluate damages to be awarded in a homicide.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indeed, the commitment of the Lebanese legal system to the concept of the modern state ranked above tribal tradition and customs. The legal system smoothed the way for removing both *qisas* and *diya* from the clan's jurisdiction first and the *Shari'a* court second. Whether or not an integrated community developed out of this new arrangement remains in controversy. The unity brought about by the Lebanese state and its legal system has not overcome the tribal tradition. Rather, it has subordinated it to the state's political structure. Accordingly, the quarrels and rivalries of the clans were not removed, even though they have been subdued.[23] The clans have left their imprints on the Lebanese political system and its practices since the very beginning of Lebanon's modern state.

First, since 1993 the *zua'ma* of the Biqa'i powerful clans such as Al-Hamadeh, Al-Haidar, Al-Husayni, Al-Dandash, Al-Shamas and Al-Zouaiter became representatives in the Lebanese parliament and holders of power positions. However, after the 1992 parliamentary elections, weak clans such as Al-Sayyid, Al-Taha, Al-Yaghi and Al-Tlays, supported by Hezbollah, won more Parliamentary seats than the powerful clans.

It is clear that both the old and new clans' leaders became part of the state's political system, smoothing the way for the ascendance of tribal-rural groups to power. Ghassan Salame's assessment of the ascendance of tribal-rural groups to the modern state in Arab society is especially supportive in this regard: "....Rural elements gradually became urban and reversely the state power became rural. The development of the modern state and its institutions were overladen with the emerging *a'sabiyyas*."[24] This is not to suggest, however, that the Lebanese state is totally dominated by clans' powers. Rather, it suggests that the Lebanese confessional political system has legitimized the Shi'a Biqa'i clans as well as other Lebanese Maronite and Sunni clans of the central Biqa' and northern Lebanon as centers of national powers in the form of sectarian representation.

Second, the political leaders of clans have undermined to a certain extent the role of the Lebanese legal system in clan conflicts. In his analysis of the organization of tradition in Jordan, Richard Antoun emphasized three "cultural brokers," which are "the tribal court, the Islamic court and the civil court," in resolving conflicts among Jordanian tribes.[25] However, Antoun made it clear that the practical order of relevance is for the civil court to prosecute the murderer.[26]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In contrast to Jordan, the Lebanese authorities rely on the influence of the clans' political leaders to resolve the conflict. Such influence can be helpful if a clan's leaders bring the murderer to justice under the state's laws. However, the *zu'ama* cater to their own clans, following tribal tradition instead of the state's laws. The remedy lingers on at the level of the folk custom where payments of blood money are still made in outlying districts and in notorious cases of deliberate murder. Also, under the influence of the *zu'ama*'s mediation, litigants drop the legal suit once the payment of *diya* is settled and the reconciliation or *musalaha* takes place. Furthermore, in case the murderer was arrested, his trial and prosecution would not proceed to the end, due to the influence of the clans' political leaders. Similarly, the judge would compromise the public right by sentencing the murderer to less penalty than what he deserves (one to two years of imprisonment), after which he will be free. Thus, the Lebanese Penal Code specifically and the Lebanese legal system in general failed to have any practical effect with regard to clan feuds. The clans' leaders use the state and its legal system as an instrument in the service of tribal tradition.

Third, despite the effect of rapid, disruptive modernization, there has been little national integration along the lines of a nation-building model. The Lebanese state has not provided enough symbolic and material needs of individuals and groups in the Shi'a areas. Furthermore, it has not acted as a "secular broker" in Lebanon's communal environment where national integration and stable institutional building have failed to occur.[27] For example, when economic development reached the area of Ba'albek-Hermil during Shehab's presidency in the early 1960s, the process fell one step short. The developmental programs with money related were distributed and handled through the clans' leaders, not the state's agencies. While the state succeeded in cultivating the loyalty of the clans' leaders, it has failed to gain the loyalty of clans' members.[28] Furthermore, clans' leaders have used the state-rendered services for their own immediate gains and powers, and not for the purpose of national integration. Thus, where clans' leaders and their heirs have changed in many ways in terms of education, business, and financial assets, their clans' members were more or less blocked and even kept away from social mobility. Both the state and clans' leaders often instigated conflicts among the clans in order to stay in power.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although the clans were not left untouched by the process of westernization especially in terms of life-style, tribal pre-national identities and tradition still persist. The Lebanese state has neither been successful in eradicating tribal practices nor in its developmental program.

Hezbollah and Clan Conflicts

With the breakdown of Lebanon's political system in 1975 and the near-absence of political, social and judicial governmental institutions, the basic official means of handling conflicts within the society had been eroded. The various parties and militias became the patrons of their own communities in the groups' demographic "heartlands." By 1982, and after the Israeli invasion, Hezbollah emerged under the pretext of fighting Israel. Hezbollah's more militant, anti-Israeli stance led to bloody conflict with Amal, which ended in 1989 in a greater domination by Hezbollah in the Shi'a areas, due to an Iranian-Syrian mediation.[29] More importantly, the social and medical services that Hezbollah has provided since 1986 through a network of committees enabled it not only to gain a mass Shi'a constituency but also to capture eight parliamentary seats in the most recent elections in 1992.[30] As a result, Hezbollah has not only substituted for the state, but the services rendered by the party made it very popular among the weak clans such Al-A'ffi, AI-Tufayli, Al-Younis, Al-Blouk, Al-Faw'ani, Al-Taha, Al-Mazloum, Al-Sahili, Al-Huk, Al-Ra'ad, Al-Wehbi and Al-Nasrallah. The weak clans have utilized Hezbollah's support to get rid of the dominance of the more powerful ones such as Al-Ja'far (which is the biggest Biqa'i clan), Al-Nasreddine, Al-Dandash, Al-Shamas, Al-Hamiya, Al-Mukdad and Al-Zouaiter.[31] Nonetheless, Hezbollah's victory over Al-Ja'far's clan and the defeat of the latter in the 1992-93 conflict have changed the balance of power in favor of the weaker clans and have given Hezbollah the upper land among all Biq'ai clans.[32]

Within the past decade, the roles performed by the clans' political leaders and the Lebanese state's officials in clan conflicts have been taken over by Hezbollah. Although Hezbollah's Shaykhs are aware that, according to the *Qu'ran*, "Rights of Allah," such as crimes, must be settled in a court of law according to the Islamic *Shari'a*, Sayyid Ibrahim Amin Al-Sayyid (Hezbollah's Politburo member and deputy in the Lebanese parliament) emphasizes "that the process of resolving

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a murder within or among the clans does not start at the judicial level."[33] Furthermore, for Al-Sayyid "a third-party role is accepted in settling a conflict, if the clans perceive that the third-party is a mediator and his role is one of mediation."[34] The question that arises here is to what extent Hezbollah's role can be claimed as one of mediation. Scholars such as Pruwitt and Rubin concede that "when a conflict begins, a neutral individual intervenes voluntarily or mediates. A mediator attempts to help them reach a voluntary agreement and his recommendation is not binding.[35] However, one should note that Hezbollah's role is not necessarily neutral, due to the fact that it has sometimes used its military presence, which superseded both the clans' and the Lebanese state's powers in settling clan conflicts.

Despite Hezbollah's commitment to the principle that Islamic *Shari'a* ranks above tribal tradition, the party has, in mediating clan conflicts, applied both tribal tradition and Islamic mechanisms. Contrary to the Lebanese legal system, Hezbollah does not classify tribal tradition as totally irrelevant, but makes use of it. The party confines tribal tradition under the *Shari'a* laws, similarly to what Prophet Mohammad had done in resolving tribal conflicts in the Medina.[36] Nonetheless, the following are essentially the mechanisms that Hezbollah employs in resolving clan conflicts:[37]

First, once Hezbollah agrees to mediate a conflict between two clans, the mediator immediately visits the victim's clan in an attempt to prevent vendetta. This step is different from past practices by clans where vendetta according to tribal tradition was allowed during the period of "the boiling of the blood." Indeed, absolute prohibition of vendetta requires not only spiritual or religious influence of Hezbollah's mediator, but also a physical force which Hezbollah would employ, if needed. According to Sayyid Al-Sayyid, "in preventing vendetta we avoid using force unless we are forced to do that."[38] In some conflicts, however, such as the one between Al-Awad and AI-Faqih, the vendetta was prevented and a truce established without using force by Hezbollah. But in some other conflicts such as the one between two families from Al-Zouaiter, Hezbollah used force because the victim's family retaliated in vengeance at the time Hezbollah's mediator was called by both families to mediate the conflict. So, the truce between the conflicting clans was established first by force and second by the mediator's visits to both families.[39]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Second, after the prevention of the vendetta by the mediator, who is usually a prominent Hezbollah Shaykhs such as Sayyid Mohamad Husayn Fadlallah (spiritual guide), Sayyid Al-Sayyid, and Shaykh Mohmmad Yazbek (member of Hezbollah's Shura Council), the mediator asks *waly al-dam* about his demands. Here, the mediator without imposing his will on *waly al-dam* suggests that the conflict can be resolved in one of the following ways:

1. One is a purely Islamic mechanism where *waly al-dam* demands that the conflict be settled according to the *Shari'a* governance. In the murder of March 30, 1994, the victim's clan (Al-Nasreddine) demanded that the conflict with the murderer's clan (al-Awadah) be settled according to the *Shari'a*. The murderer's clan handed the criminal to Hezbollah. Hezbollah applied *Hukm-Allah* to the murderer and executed him by hanging. Strangely enough, the Lebanese local police and the subdistrict officer who were present during mediation did not object to the decision that Hezbollah execute the murderer. The objection and the denial of the act by the Lebanese state's officials came after the execution.[40]

2. The second way is a tribal mechanism whereby the disputants seek a settlement of the conflict through a process of negotiation where no judicial settlement is involved. According to Sayyid Al-Sayyid, "it is very rarely that clans or families involved in a conflict accept the judicial settlements of courts."[41] It depends, however, on what *waly al-dam* sought as a solution.

Nevertheless, Hezbollah so far has mediated over two hundred clan conflicts of murder cases, in which two-thirds were reported by its leaders as resolved.[42]

Third, upon the agreement of both parties to the conflict, Hezbollah holds the accused to prevent his fleeing the area. Holding the accused does not mean imprisonment; rather, it implies holding him in custody until his fate is determined by mediation.[43] As for the Lebanese state's role, it is essentially neutral. More importantly, even if the victim's clan files a legal suit, its parties drop the suit after reconciliation with the murderer's clan.

Fourth, after preventing vendetta, the mediator starts extensive consultation. He usually consults both parties separately and listens to their claims. This consultation centers on resolving two main issues: (1) the fate of the murderer; and (2) the compensation or diva. The process might take from one to three years depending on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the complexity of the conflict.

In most cases the victim's clan demands to banish or *nafy* the killer(s) and asks for *diya*.[44] For example, in the conflict between two families from al-Awad in 1992, the victim's family demanded the banishment of two out of six members of the murderer's family who participated in the killing, and asked for a *diya* of ten million Lebanese pounds (around $5,000 at the time). However, some other conflicts are resolved by forgiveness and without exile or compensation. In one conflict, for example, in 1988 between Al-Salah and Al-Hajj-Hasan, the extensive mediation by Hezbollah's mediator led Al-Salah (the victim's family) to forgive the killer who was from Al-Hajj-Hasan, because the homicide of Husayn Al-Salah was not intentional. After the *musalaha*, the son of the deceased dressed the murderer in the caftan or *abaya*, which means forgiveness in tribal tradition.[45] In most cases, if the murderer is not banished, he exiles himself until he is forgiven. The period of exile ranges from ten years to forever. As for the *diya*, it ranges from ten million to one hundred million Lebanese pounds. However, Hezbollah's mediator requires the payment of the *diya* to the victim's family whenever the victim has children. The reason is that forgiveness without *diya* is not acceptable, according to the *Shari'a*.[46] It is the case, therefore, that even in mediation Hezbollah imposes conditions upon the disputants for the sake of upholding the *Shari'a*.

On the other hand, if the murderer's family can not afford the amount of compensation demanded by the victim's family, Hezbollah contributes money to settle the payment of *diya*. Without specifying the amount paid by Hezbollah, Al-Sayyid notes that, "out of ten *diya* cases, Hezbollah contributed money to six of them."[47] However, he adds that "our purpose in contributing money is social reform, rather than encouraging crimes."[48] The purpose of this social reform, however, is not clear with the exception that such contribution is permitted because it strengthens Hezbollah's position as a major player in clan conflicts.

Fifth, once the fate of the murderer and the issue of compensation are settled, Hezbollah's mediator pronounces the end of the conflict to the clans involved. Such pronouncement includes personal visits to leaders and prominent members of the conflicting clans.[49] Indeed, the expectation here is that members of the clan will not breach the agreement that has resulted from mediation. However, this is not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

always the case. During my interview with Al-Sayyid, he was called by one of his aides in the Ba'albek-Hermil district, informing him that Al-Zouaiter's families are fighting again, thus wrecking the *musalaha* which took place not long ago.

Sixth, the final step in Hezbollah's mediation culminates in an actual *musalaha* among the conflicting clans. Actually, it is a gala that brings together both the tribal and Islamic traditions, since compensation and forgiveness are religiously commendable.[50] Yet the secular state, the "third great tradition," is almost absent with the exception of a few token civilian or military figures. Speeches are exchanged by the mediator, Hezbollah's top leaders and spokesmen of the clans. All of them reiterate themes of faith, forgiveness, unity, solidarity, the shortcomings and negligence of the Lebanese state, and the Israeli threat to Lebanon. The most important thing to be noted here is that, contrary to the previous stages of mediation where there was no direct form of communication, the parties in conflict start to communicate. Each side shows its forgiveness by waiving almost all conditions for the *musalaha*. For example, Al-Faqih returned the *diya* (house and land) to Al-Awad's clan. Al-Khataya waived the compensation and forgave the culprit from Arab-Al-Naim's clan. Many examples can be cited to show the tribal behavior. In such a gala, however, what matters for a clan is not the question of conciliation but the feeling of pride in the *a'sabiyya* and the image of the clan in the eyes of the community. Finally, after the gala and under the direct supervision of Hezbollah's mediator, families and clans' members sit together in a more modern tribal feast to have more direct communication and to talk about the outside enemies that have wrecked their own community.

Conclusion

Despite the condemnation of tribalism, outmoded beliefs and rituals by educated members of the clans, tribal tradition still persists. The most striking aspect of tribal practices among the Shi'a Biqa'i clans is vendetta or *tha'r*. The conditions of conciliation are spelt out according to the *urf* in which compensation or *diya* is also religiously commendable. However, the unity brought about by the Lebanese state and its legal system since 1943 did not overcome tribal traditions. Rather, it subordinated them to the state's power without policies of national integration. To the contrary, the clans' political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders are legitimized by the state as centers of national power. The political leaders of the clans have used the state and its legal system as an instrument in the service of tribal tradition. More importantly, the state itself has failed to serve symbolic and materialistic needs for the Biqa'i clans. Thus, national integration and institutional building were too weak to overcome tribal loyalties. The Lebanese state's role has since 1986 been substituted and filled by Hezbollah, which has attempted to act as a neutral third-party among the clans. Hezbollah's network of committees and agencies has rendered social and medical services to the neglected areas of Baalbek-Hermil district, the heartland of the Shi'a Biqa'i clans. Such services have made Hezbollah stronger than the state's institutions, not only among the weak clans but among the strong ones as well.

Although Hezbollah's commitment to Islamic *Shari'a* ranks above tribal tradition, the party has combined in its processes of resolving conflicts among the clans both tribal and Islamic mechanisms. Thus, when the Lebanese state has failed in integrating the clans nationally, Hezbollah succeeded in integrating them politically under the confines of the *Shari'a* as interpreted by its *ulama*. By providing free of charge services as a "third party" in complex conflicts among the clans, Hezbollah has increased its constituency and popular support in Shia's areas of the Biqa'. Hezbollah's role has indeed contributed to delegitimizing the Lebanese state's institutions, which are supposed to resolve such conflicts. Whether Hezbollah will continue in such a role depends on the ability of the Lebanese state to consolidate its powers within an equitable framework of national policies.

Notes

1. See commentaries and editorials of the Lebanese newspapers, mainly al-Nahar and al-Safir, between March 30 and February 15, 1994.
2. Dale F. Eickleman, *The Middle East : An Anthropological Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1981), pp. 88-89; he identified three different notions of tribe in the Middle East: anthropological analytical concepts, indigenous explicit ideologies and indigenous practical notions.
3. See Fouad Khalil, *al-A'ashira: Dawlat al-Mujtama' al-Mahaly (The clan: The State of Local Society)* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Lubnani, 1990), p. 12.
4. Ibid.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

5. Ibid, p. 13.
6. Ibid, p. 15.
7. Ibid, p. 153.
8. Names of clans and families were collected from reports on clans' conflicts in *al-Ahd* between 1987 and 1993; see also *al-Wasat*, May 2, 1994, p. 14.
9. Fouad Khalil, *al-A'shira'*, p. 36.
10. Ibid, pp. 76-88.
11. For further treatment of tribal tradition, see R. David and J. Brierly, *Major Legal Systems in the World : An Introduction to Comparative Study of Law* (New York 1978), p. 423; see also Ernestine Friedl, "Lagging Emulation in Post-Peasant Society," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 66, No. 3, June 1964; Richard T. Antoun, "The Islamic law, the Islamic Judge and the Accommodation of Traditions: A Jordanian Case Study," *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, vol. 12, No. 4, December 1980.
12. Fouad Khalil, *al-A'shira*, p. 62.
13. For further treatment of the kindred group concept see Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage Early Arabia* (Cambridge: University Press 1885), p 25.
14. Reported in *al-Ahd*, April 10, 1994, p. 3.
15. Ernest Gellner, "Tribalism and the State in the Middle East," in Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner, *Tribes and States Formation in the Middle East* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1990), p. 109.
16. Interview with Sayyid Ibrahim Amin Al-Sayyid, May 19, 1994 in his main office, al-Hawra' Bldg-Bir al-Abd, southern suburbs of Beirut. Note also, that Sayyid Al-Sayyid was interviewed by the author on the same subject on March 18 and May 26, 1993. Only the May 19, 1994 interview will be cited here.
17. Ibid; see also M.J.L. Hardy, *Blood Feuds and the Payment of Blood Money in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1963), pp. 74-82.
18. W. Montgomery Watt, *Mohammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 78, 144, 149.
19. Mahmoud Najib Husi, *Qanoun al Aukowbat al-Lubnani (The Lebanese Penal Code)* (Beirut, 1968) p. 36.
20. Hardy, *Blood Feuds*, p. 56.
21. See *Qanoun al-Mujebat wal-Aukowed (The Lebanese Code of Obligations and Contracts)* (Beirut. 1934), pp. 29-34.
22. Mahmoud Husni, *The Lebanese Penal Code*, p. 35.
23. Bassam Tibi, "The Simultaneity of the Unsimultaneous: Old Tribes and Imposed Nation States in the Modern Middle East," in Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner, *Tribes and States Formation*, p. 131.
24. For treatment of *a'sabiyya*, see Ghassan Salama', *Al-Mujtama' wa al-Dawla fi al-Mashriq al-Arabi (The State and Society in the Arab East)* (Beirut, 1987), p. 11.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

25. See Richard T. Antoun, *Muslim Preacher in the Modern World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1990), pp. 33-34.
26. Ibid.
27. On the Sectarian imbalance see R. Hrair Dekmejian, "Consociational Democracy in Crisis : The Case of Lebanon," *Comparative Politics*, (January 1978), pp. 252-263; see also, Richard Norton "Shi'ism and Social Protest in Lebanon" in *Shi'ism and Social Protest*, ed.s Juan R. Cole and Nikki Keddi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 160.
28. Fuad Khalil, *al-A'shira*, pp. 163-164.
29. See A. Nizar Hamzeh, "Lebanon's Hizbullah: From Islamic Revolution to Parliamentary Accommodation," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 14 (2), 1993, pp. 330-332.
30. Ibid, pp. 327-329.
31. See *al-Wasat*, May 2, 1994, p. 14.
32. Ibid.
33. Sayyid Al-Sayyid, May 19, 1994.
34. Ibid.
35. See Dean G. Pruitt and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement* (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1986), pp. 166-167.
36. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad*, p. 144.
37. Sayyid al-Sayyid, May 19, 1994.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. *Al-Nahar*, Feb. 4, 1994, p. 5.
41. Sayyid Al-Sayyid, May 19, 1994.
42. *Al-Ahd*, April-May 10, 1988, p. 5; and Feb.-March 6, 1991, p. 6.
43. Sayyid al-Sayyid, May 19, 1994.
44. Ibid; see also, Hardy, *Blood Feuds*, p. 36.
45. See *Al-Ahd*, May 7, 1993, p. 5.
46. Sayyid al-Sayyid, May 19, 1994.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. See Richard T. Antoun, *Muslim Preacher*, p. 33.
51. See *Al-Ahd*, May 7, 1993, p. 6.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Global Competition Challenges the Socio-Economic Structure of Europe and North America

Bamijoko S. Smith
Howard University

This paper is concerned with the social and economic implications of the techno-economic paradigm shift in the global economy, with particular focus on the United States and the European economies of Britain, France and Germany. As the globalization of production, industry, technology and finance continues to alter the structural configurations of the global economy, it is also generating new contradictions and challenges. The new requirements of globalization continue to make national economic strategies and frameworks obsolete while at the same time dictating the dismantling of the social framework of economic activities at the national level. In addition, as globalization continues to accelerate the pace of integration, its requirements suggest the creation of institutional, technical, knowledge intensive, and market specific advantages and capabilities at the national economic space. Equally important are the requirements for new forms of cooperation and collaboration by multiple social partners. These conditions now are considered essential for global competitiveness and the acquisition of the overall flexibility necessary for long term structural adaptation.

Until quite recently, the systematic application of science in production, the global assimilation of scientific knowledge and the diffusion of technology, suggested that global restructuring was primarily a technology rationalization strategy. As new scientific and technological advances acquired economic significance and began to displace the "old" technological regime, it is no longer adequate to focus on the exploitation of technology without examining the structural impact of the new technological regime. Since the scope and magnitude of the new technological regime transcends sectoral boundaries and encompass production systems of entire economies, it is necessary to identify the conditions specific to the new technological regime and to assess their social and economic implications.

The growing emphasis on capability based competition is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shifting the focus from basic skills for specific jobs to basic and analytical skills for multiple job functions. As the demands of an externally competitive environment continue to increase, national economic systems are forced to eliminate competitive deficiencies and to establish new competitive capabilities. Notwithstanding the recognition of education, skills and training as dominant sources of competition, it is now becoming increasingly clear that the problems relating to competitive deficiencies are well beyond education reforms and training. Competitive deficiencies now require a wider definition to encompass the technical, economic and social contexts. This definition suggests the need to re-establish important linkages between social, moral and economic problems at the national level. In the view of George Lodge, these problems cannot be separated from the current global competition because "they affect and are affected by the nature of competition."[1]

This study maintains that despite the increased globalization of production and the reduction in technological differentials, important national differences still persist. We view social compacts as powerful sources of economic flexibility and structural adaptation. Whether one speaks of the "uniquely" American social compact with its emphasis on economic opportunity and social equality, or the German social market compact with its emphasis on co-determination, efficiency and social security, it is necessary to determine their capacities to adjust in light of the new requirements for global competition. For the purposes of this analysis, it is argued that important components of social compacts of different forms of capitalism have become unsustainable. While the social and economic implications of diverse patterns of technology rationalization strategies are examined in this analysis, the main focus is on the American and European social compacts.

Understanding the Growing Interest in the Social Factors Affecting Global Competition.

It is now generally recognized that careful understanding of the social contexts in which global competition takes place is crucial in analyzing the new sources of global competition. It is appropriate to place this analysis within the context of the scope and magnitude of the global restructuring of production, industry and finance in the last two decades, while recognizing the qualitative differences during

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the late 1970s and early 1980s, in contrast to the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In the former period, global restructuring focused on technical rationalization and industrial redeployment. The achievement of production flexibility during this period should be seen in relation to the significant decline in the contribution of manufacturing activities to both economic growth and employment generation. By the mid 1980s, service sectors in most industrial economies had replaced manufacturing sectors as the largest employment generating sectors. What we witnessed during this period was largely an attempt to integrate new technologies into old economic activities. Folker Froebel, in summarizing the foundation of technological restructuring in the 1980s, argues that new technology "now renders industrial relocation and the direction of production less dependent on geographical distances." It made it possible to refine and modify advanced technology so that semi-skilled and low skilled labor can be utilized diverse production processes.[2]

By the second half of the 1980s, the systematic quest for economies of scale, increased inter-branch specialization and market penetration, resulted in surplus capacities in most industrial sectors. It is instructive to recall the prevailing assessment during the peak of the business cycle in 1989. Even before the Stock Market Crash in 1987, it was widely argued that by 1986, numerous factors had combined to produce an investment boom. These factors included the decline in oil prices, moderate wage increases, low rates of inflation and interest rates, improved corporate profits and business confidence, and an increased labor productivity in manufacturing. It was the prevailing view that these developments were largely due to the increased application of technology. Perhaps even more significant was the view that neo-liberal economic policies were well in place with the resulting elimination of market rigidities (deregulation), fiscal consolidation, and the establishment of structural impediments to spending or classical Keynesian economic expansion.

The policy coordinated responses of the Group of Seven leading industrial economies to the Stock Market Crash in 1987 was also seen as a success in macroeconomic policy coordination and economic crisis management. What we witnessed was an unprecedented infusion of capital liquidity into the global economy. These developments had important implications for investments, consumer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spending and economic output. Rising industrial production, increases in productivity, and capacity utilization led to significant expansion across a wide range of industries. The expansion was accompanied by increased rate of consumer demand which in some cases out-stripped the rate of growth in output. The increased mobility of capital which in some economies, like Japan, was at an historic low, resulted in deeper penetration of internal markets, the establishment of new plants, and expanded capacity.

Notwithstanding the complex set of structural problems which most national economies were experiencing as identified and examined by numerous contributors including Peter Peterson,[3] the prevailing sense of optimism was indeed widespread and perhaps overly confident. As summarized by Charles Morris in 1989, "For the foreseeable future, powerful industrial, economic and demographic forces will be converging in a way that will offer a welcome respite from the traumas of the past two decades."[4]

Wide scale industrial re-structuring in the industrial economies during the 1980s revealed conflicting strategies, and at times, institutional confusion. The continuation and intensification of these strategies in the 1990s require an understanding of their philosophical orientation and assumptions. For the purposes of this analysis, we have identified two dominant approaches that we consider useful in understanding the current debate. These two approaches are the Regulationist and neo-Liberal approaches. While relying on different philosophical premises, it can be argued that both approaches focus on (1) the remodelling of advanced capitalist economies, largely due to the increased globalization of economic activities; (2) the increased obsolescence of national economic strategies; (3) re-assessing the dominant view of national economies as distinct objects of control; (4) the need to dismantle the social frameworks of economic activities at national levels; and (5) building the necessary political and social norms that are consistent with the development of a new economic model.

The Regulationist Approach

The Regulationist approach provides a useful framework for understanding the nature of Fordist production tcchniques and work organization. Fordism is defined as the rationalization of capitalist production, work organization and mode of consumption. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fordist approach views history as a series of conjunctures with each conjuncture defined in terms of a dominant mode of accumulation or production system in relation to a mode of regulation or institutional framework.[5] Sustainable economic growth is generally achieved when the mode of production is compatible with the existing institutional framework. Conversely, stagnation occurs when both the mode of production and institutional framework are incompatible.

The Regulationist approach maintains that Fordism was dominant during the Golden Age of capitalism, 1945-1966. With the emerging dominance of mass production methods, we witnessed a uniquely capitalist mode of organized consumption. The introduction of an average level of consumption higher than the level of subsistence determined the viability of mass production. Because of the continuous need to adjust mass consumption to increasing productivity, it was important in the post Second World War period to establish monopolistic wage relations, linking nominal wages to both the cost of living and productivity. This ensured that a stable relationship can be maintained between final demand and supply. In addition, oligopolistic prices and accelerated depreciation meant that important enterprises were protected from major losses.[6]

The global diffusion of Fordism from the United States to Europe and Japan should be seen in the context of the internationalization of capital and production. In addition, both Fordist production techniques and mode of social regulation should be seen in relation to the development of autonomous national systems. The result has been the development of national specific variants of Fordism. The acceptance of Fordist production techniques in Europe has had wider production and social implications. The case of France, Germany and Britain clearly illustrate this point: despite the initial hostility in France, acceptance was achieved because the state took responsibility for the distribution of surplus generated through the use of Fordist production techniques. In Germany, the reception to Fordism was influenced by German interest in its capacity for industrial re-organization and design. In addition, Fordist techniques were considered to be in harmony with the existing German cultural and social interests. In the view of Christel Lane, the impact on German labor relations was very limited, as reflected in the survival of the shop floor and the craft tradition. Christel Lane has also argued that in the case of Britain, the emphasis on individualized

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

solution to industrial problems limited the introduction of Fordist organizational techniques. British loss of competitiveness in the 1930s meant that the British variant of Fordism was largely influenced by the need for cost-cutting rather than its output maximization potential.[7]

The Regulationist approach takes the position that Fordist structural forms have become obsolete. By implication, the evolutionary nature of global competition including the re-organization of markets and the rules of competition, have made new production techniques incompatible with Fordist structural forms. In addition, Fordist view of national economies as distinct object of control has also become obsolete largely due to globalization. The increased globalization of production has resulted in reduced technological differentials among the leading industrial economies. Consequently, complementarities are disappearing in relation to national production techniques.

The Neo-Liberalism Approach

Neo-liberalism maintains that desired economic adaptation cannot be achieved because of existing structural inadequacies. These inadequacies are largely derived from market rigidities which in turn create barriers to free market competition. The approach stresses an *a priori* existence of market rigidities.

Unlike the Regulationist approach which focuses on the atmosphere of obsolescence surrounding Fordism, the philosophical premises of neo-Liberalism attach an absolute primacy to the private subject, in addition to a great antipathy for all forms of collective actions. It has also focused on Keynesian intervention strategies since, it views government regulatory and interventionist policies as impeding the enhancement of competitiveness. The establishment of generalized market competition and flexible market economies are two important objectives of this approach. De-regulation, privatization, tax reforms, fiscal consolidation, and labor market flexibility become indispensable instruments of economic progress. Neo-liberal strategies (market solutions) for generalized market competition view the elimination of Fordist social norms as an unavoidable necessity. In general current levels of public expenditures cannot be sustained, and their elimination is a pre-requisite for the establishment of flexible market economies. Public expenditures on housing, pensions,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

education, income maintenance and other transfer payments can no longer be sustained.

Global Restructuring and the Changing Logic of Competition

Despite the continued systematic application of science knowledge in production during the second half of the 1980s, the full potential benefits of accelerated automation or technological applications were not realized. The prevailing assumption that the main set of problems was behavioral, ignored structural impediments which required fundamental changes in the nature of work and the work place. During the second half of the 1980s, the debate over the "productivity puzzle" revealed the existence of important factors which were impeding the full exploitation of new and continuous scientific and technological advances. In a wider context the new requirements of global competition were now incompatible with the structures of competing industries.

Technology induced flexibility in production and the work place has become a central component of global competition in the 1990s. The introduction and application of advanced manufacturing techniques now affect the range of products and services in addition to the range of options for work organizations. The basic relationships between innovations, knowledge and learning have been radically altered. The result is that current notions of work, knowledge and learning, inherited from almost two centuries of academic and industrial practices have become outdated.[8] The possession of polyvalent or multiple skills has become an important requirement for the efficient use of new technologies. Continuous upgrading of skills and training are now required in order to ensure that complex and multiple tasks are performed in the work place.[9]

Global Competition in the 1990s

The increased application and manipulation of scientific knowledge in production and the work place continued to transform the logic of competition as we began the decade of the 1990s. The prevailing argument or prediction is that technology will be the key resource in enabling nations and enterprises to become flexible in achieving structural adaptation and enhanced capabilities. The new requirements of knowledge-based production and work organization, including the acquisition of multi-functional skills, have influenced the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new assumptions regarding the relationship between education, learning and the nature of work. In a wider context, these new requirements have important implications for labor productivity, industrial relations, employment generation, economic growth, competitiveness, and standards of living.

The proliferation of reports and studies in the last decade highlighting the inadequacies in existing educational and training systems have reflected this new reality. Similarly, the decline in manufacturing production and employment generation have raised serious concerns as indicated in numerous studies including those by the United States Office of Technology Assessment and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[10] Both studies established a direct link between manufacturing production, foreign trade and standards of living. They viewed manufacturing as a direct source of production, well paid jobs, and in-direct source of many better than average jobs in the service sector. The Office of Technology Assessment study concluded that the "weaknesses in manufacturing technology must be cured if the nation is to enjoy rising living standards together with a strong and stable position in foreign trade."

In the last three years, the continued shift from low skilled and low paid jobs to high value goods production and high skilled jobs, have raised serious concerns and challenges regarding employment generation and rising wage inequality between highly educated and skilled workers; and less educated, semi and low skilled workers. In the view of Hilary Pennington, "we are witnessing a bifurcation of income and opportunity caused by our evolution into an information driven knowledge based economy."[11]

A related challenge is the need to change the basic relationship between patterns of investment and consumption. It is now generally recognized that investments in "intangible assets" such as education, training, research and development, and information systems are vital to the development of national competitive capabilities. As Michael Porter has emphasized, "in the continuous upgrade of competitive advantage, investment is the most critical determinant."[12] Unlike the 1980s, a central challenge in the 1990s is the need for national economies to shift from being high consumption and low investment economies and toward high investment and lower consumption economies. Raising investments will require that both

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

private and public consumption grow slowly than output over an extended period of time.

Transforming the Nature of Work and the Workplace in the 1990s

It can be argued that one of the most significant developments relating to the changing logic of competition in the 1990s has been the transformation of the nature of work and the work place. In the view of William Johnston, " the re-organization of work is a social transformation as massive and wrenching as the industrial revolution," He argues, further, that "the greatest social convulsion may now be taking place in the work place."[13] Fortune magazine, in a similar context, observed in 1993 that "the new work place will be ferociously Darwinian for both corporations and individuals alike."[14]

Even before the start of the current decade, the enormous social and economic implications of the changes in the nature of work and the work place were becoming apparent. The clearest indication of this trend is the now famous conclusion of the United States Department of Labor report entitled **Workforce 2000: Work and Workers in the 21st Century.** The Report concluded that:

> Service industries will create all new jobs, and most of the new wealth, over the next 13 years. The new jobs in the service industries will demand much higher skill levels than the jobs today. Very few jobs will be created for those who cannot read and use mathematics...Only 15 percent of the new entrants to the labor force will be native white males, compared to 47 percent in that category today.

The attention which was given to the last sentence quoted above set the stage for what has become known as work place diversity. But in a wider context, it reflects the significant implications of demographic changes relative to the globalization of production. Assessing the social implication for the United States, Hilary Pennington predicts that "by the year 2035, there will be only two workers to support each retiree ... One of whom will be a minority, an American disproportionately at risk of having grown up poor and educationally disadvantaged."[15] This conclusion is an indication of the serious attention which is now being given to the central relationship between educational gaps, income distribution and standards of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

living. Reinforcing this point, Michael Prowse observes that the biggest challenge for the United States may lie outside the academic sphere. He maintains that the most serious and often unacknowledged problem lies with the bottom 70% of the American school population which has no prospect of going to college or receiving post-secondary education.[16]

Radical changes in the workplace and new work requirements have also revealed serious skill inadequacies in European economies. These skilled shortages, including scientists, engineers and technicians, have constrained European employers and severely affected labor productivity. Demographic changes in Europe have also shown disturbing trends which are predicted to exist well into the first quarter of the 21st century. Due to high levels of structural unemployment in Europe, there is a high dependency ratio of workers to the working population. In the case of Germany, the "inverse pyramid" suggests that relatively few young people support a significant number of older Germans. In addition to persistence unemployment, the growing numerical imbalance between young and old is also caused by declining birth rates. It is estimated that there is an approximately 40% reduction in birth rates in east Germany due to the reluctance of women to have children. The net result of these developments is that in the 1980s, there was a net migration of 2.2 million people to Germany. Germany now has a strong immigrant population of approximately 5.4 million.[17]

Competitiveness, Economic Growth and Employment Generation

The emphasis on "technology induced flexibility" in the 1990s suggests that technology is now driving economic growth. *Business Week* magazine has estimated that investments in information technology by U.S. businesses in the 1980s was approximately $1 trillion, with roughly $800 billion invested in the service sector. In its 1993 annual review of the impact of technological advances on economic growth, the magazine concluded that "technology payoff" had provided a "stunning reversal of the picture just a few years ago... this is the first recovery in which productivity is improving faster than economic growth. Increased productivity, driven by a sea change in technology and management, may set off a powerful cycle of fatter profits, new investments, higher wages and a rising standard of living."[18] Extending this conclusion, *Business Week* 1994 report

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concluded that economic growth is now being driven by computer, software and telecommunication industries. It estimated that business and consumer spending on high technology equipments had accounted for 35% of economic growth since 1990.[19]

The optimism expressed by Business Week magazine and other studies should be examined in relation to some important developments that we have witnessed in the last four years; central of which are corporate responses to increased competitiveness and market pressures during the course of the recession beginning in 1990. The level of downsizing and search for cost efficiency which we still continue to witness, require careful determination of the level of productivity and enhanced competitiveness attributable to the normal course of a cyclical upturn, as opposed to the level of structural adaptation which has occurred. Despite the current trends in economic growth in the leading industrial economies, including strong corporate earnings, the available evidence is inadequate to establish any clear pattern.

The current optimism has to be contrasted with some existing problems and new challenges. As the central focus of macroeconomic policies shifts from the emphasis on productivity and growth to economic growth and employment, the main objective is the desire to achieve employment intensive growth strategies. The current concern over inflation and rapid economic growth in the United States by the U.S. Federal Reserve highlight the traditional dilemma for macroeconomic policy in implementing sustainable, non-inflationary, and employment generating growth strategy.

The recognition that increased competitiveness, including corporate cost-cutting and labor market reforms, does not automatically lead to employment generation or reduced unemployment has also highlights the current focus by policy makers in the industrial economies on the social and economic impact of technological change. Complicating the situation is the prevailing view that significant reductions in social expenditures are now necessary in order to enhance competitiveness.

The pessimistic conclusions of the 1993 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report on economic growth and employment in the OECD member states, brought into focus what in the view of many is the central challenge of the 1990s; the relationship between competitiveness, economic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

growth and employment generation. The report concluded that despite historically low rates of inflation and interest rates, slow economic growth persists in the members states. Significant in the report's analysis is the ineffectiveness of stimulative measures in the midst of the on-going structural changes. The most critical section of the report expressed concern over the persistence of unemployment. The report stated that with the exception of the United States, Switzerland, Austria and the Scandinavian economies, unemployment had persisted in Europe since the mid-1970s. It predicted that structural unemployment will continue with little stimulative measures from governments. In unusually strong language, the report stated that unemployment had brought individual hardship and economic loss, and that it seriously threatens social cohesion.

Partnerships and Collective Solutions

Do the requirements of the new techno-economic paradigm put individualistic, free market culture based capitalist societies at a disadvantage? Numerous analysts including Kevin Phillips, Lester Thurow, Michael Prowse and Harry Henzler, have all raised serious questions regarding the effectiveness of individualistic, free market societies. With specific reference to the United States, both Kevin Phillips and Harry Henzler have expressed concerns over the capacity of individualistic, free market societies to take collective action. Harry Henzler argues that the United States "typically does not favor collective solutions to social problems, nor does it expect institutions such as employers associations, unions and government bodies to play an important role in the management of private enterprise." Kevin Phillips argues that the United States is "an individualistic, free market culture that does not lend itself to national strategizing or statist planning."[20] Additionally, he does not believe that the proliferation of entrenched special interest groups in the U.S. favor the building of a moderate consensus or managed adjustment with a uniquely American character. Michael Prowse's argument is that addressing the serious social problems associated with aggressive individualism require that economic growth be reconnected with social equity. Despite the optimism regarding the prospects for an emerging consensus among moderates across the U.S. political spectrum, the increasingly intense level of partisan politics does not auger well for any such optimism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It should be emphasized that some neo-liberal scholars do find vindication for free market competition and individualism in the current technological revolution. This is reflected in the views of George Gilder. He argues that the power of the micro-electronics revolution "rather than pushing decisions up through the hierarchy, pulls them remorselessly down to the individual."[21]

In the last few years, there has been a growing interest in the U.S. in different capitalist models, particularly the German and Japanese models. For the purposes of this analysis, it should be emphasized that despite the social inclusiveness of European capitalism, it also faces the challenge of adapting to the changing requirements of global competition. Despite the postwar success of Germany's social market theory, there are now clear signs of structural stagnation. Witness the summary of the German crisis by the former president, Richard von Weizsacker, in 1993: "industry and the economy are stuck in a cost and innovation crisis, labor in an employment crisis, the political class in a credibility crisis and society in an orientation crisis."[22]

Global Competition and the Challenge of Building Flexible Societies

Corporate restructuring in the second half of the 1980s largely focused on the rationalization of production in internal markets. There was also a pre-occupation with behavioral changes including productivity increases, efficiency and quality. It should also be noted that decisions relating to corporate restructuring were not always based on production logic. This was very prevalent in the area of mergers and acquisition.

Technology induced flexibility in production and the work place has become a central component of global competition in the 1990s. The introduction of technology and the application of advanced manufacturing techniques now affect a wide range of products and services in addition to the range of options for work organizations. As corporate structures increasingly become incompatible with new production techniques, recognition of the need to change management and organization strategies has become critical in the debate, particularly as global competition becomes fierce. While increased technological applications do facilitate changes in the nature of work and corporate organizations, they cannot determine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how organizations function. The full potentials from the introduction of technology are only realized when the existing social and organizational processes change in line with new technology.[23] In addition, such re-organization of work and the work place should also precede fundamental changes in the social norms of consumption.

We continue to witness significant changes in employers strategies in response to competitive and market pressures. Central to this strategy is the effective utilization of labor in meet changing needs. The development of core capabilities and the efficient use of new technologies now require important shifts to greater worker involvement in all aspect of work. Since compartmentalized work tasks no longer enhance competitiveness, employers must advance the skills of employees in order to effectively utilize the full competence of employees. Utilization of full employee competence requires that employees are able to acquire knowledge relative to products, materials, customers needs, and the entire business environment. As the relationship between management and labor is radically altered, it is clear that education and training have become key competitive factors in the 1990s.

Corporate Restructuring Strategies in the 1990s

Despite the attention given to the systematic application of science and technology in production and the associated "technological pay-offs", a careful examination of restructuring strategies in the last four years leads one to the conclusion that the role of science and technology in facilitating restructuring has been over emphasized.

Restructuring in the 1990s has to be seen in relation to a major attempt to eliminate excess capacities that were generated in the 1980s; excesses which for instance generated $500 billion in corporate debt in the United States. It is in this context that we must understand the tendency towards the following: corporate restructuring of financially troubled companies; reduction of corporate cost cutting strategies in order to compensate for lower gross profit margins; downsizing and workforce reduction in order to stay competitive; and pricing as a form of marketing. In addition, unlike restructuring strategies in the 1980s which focused primarily on internal markets, restructuring in the 1990s focused on the new requirements of globalization. This has influenced the tendency towards long term structural adaptation, strategic alliances and syner-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gistic cooperation. The formation of alliances in the 1990s is industry specific, as is the case in the telecommunication and health care sectors. Unlike the 1980s, they are increasingly based on industrial logic rather than financial expediency.

Not withstanding the significance of technological advances in enhancing competition, industrial consolidation and divestiture played a critical role in enhancing competitiveness. Mergers and acquisitions are now designed to strengthen core business sectors. In addition, cost cutting frequency has also been critical in restoring growth. These observations have to be seen in relation to the synchronized downturn that we witnessed in the industrial economies beginning in 1990. Stagnant consumer demand during the recession, low inflation and interest rates, and falling prices in many industries should be taken into consideration in understanding restructuring strategies. In addition, these factors are important in determining whether the current level of competitiveness and corporate earnings that we are witnessing in some industrial structures are attributable to normal cyclical upturn or whether they are largely due to the increased application of technology in both production and work organization.

Global Restructuring and the Paradigmatic Change in Industrial Relations

Until the last few years, the debate on "techno-economic paradigm" shift has not paid sufficient attention to the central relationship between changes in technical and social relations. It is increasingly becoming clear that changes in the nature of work and the work place constitute a paradigm shift in industrial relations. As Christel Lane has correctly observed, "there is a lack of recognition that work has to be analyzed within a socio-technical system in which social and technical relations have to be redesigned together."[24] It is in this context that we can adequately examine and understand the relationship between technology induced flexibility and the pre-requisites for economic adaptation.

The changes we have witnessed in management-labor relations in the last 20 years have radically altered traditional theories of industrial relations. The traditional industrial relations view of labor as a disruptive factor in production is no longer completely valid. Furthermore, the view of management as largely reacting to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

union demands and pressures is outdated. There is little or no evidence to suggest that new employer strategies have been in response to demands from labor. In the last 20 years, the role of labor unions has been severely weakened as management has assumed the primary role in industrial relations. The increased application of technology in production, new work requirements and intensified global competition, have all combined to make management the dominant actor in transforming industrial relations.

The deployment of labor to cope with changing market demands and competitive pressures, in addition to the need to eliminate rigidities in the labor market, are key factors influencing the new mode of labor utilization. In the 1980s, decentralization and deregulation policies influenced the quest for flexibility in labor utilization. However, the primary focus was on the achievement of both functional and numerical flexibility. Functional flexibility suggests the need to broaden rather than upgrade production tasks. Numerical flexibility suggests the need for management to hire and shed labor on either a short or long term basis through the use of part time and temporary work, sub-contracting, changing shift patterns, self employment and other similar strategies.

These new market strategies and the quest for flexible organization of production have also generated new challenges for both management and labor including the following: (1) as labor becomes an important pre-condition for full technological exploitation, there is need for greater reliance on labor despite the use of less labor input; (2) flexible autonomy suggests the need for greater autonomy, holistic work tasks and responsibility in the workplace; (3) there is the need to build a climate of mutual trust and cooperation between management and labor; (4) the development of skilled polyvalent labor in order to operationalize new work and production strategies; (5) changing management's attitude over the balance of control since performance can no longer be enforced by control; and (6) getting workers to identify with management's goal and taking responsibility in accomplishing those goals.

Diverse Patterns of Work Rationalization and Structures

Despite attempts to gain functional flexibility and interests in new market strategies, it can be argued that we have not witnessed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any comprehensive or consistent attempt to establish new industrial strategies.

Germany

The postwar German social (market) compact was designed to ensure stability between labor and management in a centralized, regulated and protected industrial sector. In the view of most observers, the strength of the German model has been the "dynamic logic" that ties the different components together. Collective bargaining laws and the equal treatment clause of the German constitution are crucial in understanding Germany's commitment to economic efficiency and social security. Decision making powers concerning work organization and the introduction of new technologies are governed by Germany's Works Constitution Act. While management generally maintain control over technical and organizational designs, unions and employers through the Works Council, have consultative and information powers. Wages in Germany are not subject to individual bargaining; they are determined by industry-wide collective action between trade unions and employers' associations. Wage increases which are designed to compensate workers for inflation are required to be granted to all employees.[25]

Responding to the current trends in global restructuring, labor unions have attempted to stipulate conditions for accepting technological innovations, while emphasizing that new technologies should be introduced on "socially" acceptable terms with particular focus on training, skills acquisition, wage levels and job security. In addition, they have stressed the need for standardization in order to prevent one company from playing off its employees at the expense of others.[26]

Since the 1970s, Germany's labor unions have attempted to create mechanisms for employment continuity rather than work force reductions. As part of this process, subsidiary employment companies were established with the objective of accepting redundant workers from parent companies. These companies are expected to provide training courses and job creation programs for redundant workers. Their wages are to be financed by employers and employees contributions: redundancy compensation combined with unemployment benefits and funds from other public services. Plans were also negotiated between employers and works councils aimed at providing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

financial compensation to employees subjected to collective redundancy. After the unification of Germany, employment companies were also established to take redundant workers from state companies of the former east Germany.[27]

In 1988, Elektronik-Werke-Deutschland (EWD), a German subsidiary of Thomson, the French electrical engineering company, entered into an agreement to establish a training company, Ausbildungs und Beschafttigungsgesellschaft (AUB), for a maximum of 350 workers. The agreement was intended to offer the workers further training or retraining, or providing them with employment either within or outside the AUB. Workers undergoing training are qualified for benefits from the Federal Institute of Labor. Also in 1988, Oko Tech established an employment training company with funding from Blohm und Vodd, the state government of Hamburg, the Federal Institute of Labor, and the regional development scheme, Hamburger Programm Wirtschaft. Electro Tech, which initially accepted 100 former redundant workers, has sought to develop a market niche for environmental products and projects that are too small to attract the interest of large companies, yet are too complex for small and medium-sized companies.[28]

The German model has always considered labor as a valuable productive force which is crucial to its strategy of flexible autonomy. The historical importance of qualification and training, in addition to significant theoretical advantages, have made the German training model more attractive than those in most industrial economies. Germany provides vocational and technical training for the bulk of the workforce, with two-third of German workers receiving intermediate level of vocational qualifications. This is roughly double the proportion in Britain.

Germany's Dual System of training, work and education, through its establishment of nationally recognized training standards, has led to the formalization of training qualifications. The components of this system include: (1) a uniform set of national training standards: (2) national vocational qualification and organizational systems at the local level; (3) ownership of both standards and training system at the local levels by employers, education and training organization; and (4) the recognition of reward systems which encourage individuals to acquire a progressive portfolio of qualifications. As part of the Dual System, workers undergo rigorous and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

highly specialized training courses in their trade. These courses last for three years and conclude with an examination administered by an independent trade and professional organization. It is estimated that two-thirds of 16-19 year olds German enter high quality apprenticeship programs which cover nearly 440 occupations.

The relative lack of mobility by workers between German companies and regions has encouraged companies to invest in training with less fear of poaching. German companies contribute approximately 40% of the cost of training schools with the government contributing the rest. Companies can expect no return on their investments for the first three years of the trainees' development. Since companies and labor unions join the government in setting standards in each trade, there is therefore little opposition to the government's control over the contents of courses. Well funded chambers of commerce oversee training at the local level. All companies are required to belong to the local chambers of commerce. The chambers of commerce control part of the qualification and examination system, and they try to ensure common standards across companies.

Fear of unemployment and the need to acquire job training or core skills in the age of advanced technology are two important factors reinforcing the importance of the German model. A case in point is the experience of Krone, a medium sized producer of telecommunication components. Of the roughly 100 apprentices at Krone each year, a growing number have the Arbitar School Leaving certificate which qualifies them for university studies. Instead, apprentices stay and choose to learn a trade for fear of unemployment or the need to acquire core skills. In the view of one apprentice, "you learn more than you need but you never know where you will end up."[29]

France

Several factors have combined to limit the effectiveness of France's response to market, competitive pressures. These factors include the existence of hierarchical rigidities which have prevented the development of sufficient management skills; management attitudes to labor, with the traditional view that work organization and changes are the prerogatives of management, and the existing educational and training systems. The French system of classifying

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tasks rather than work according to skill level and linking this classificatory scheme to pay, is an important contribution to the rigidity in work organization. In addition, the conflict ridden relations between management and labor has prevented the emergence of high trust which is now required for manufacturing policy aimed at flexible specialization. With increasing skill shortages, France has attempted to bridge the gap between technological advances and shortages in shop floor flexibility by creating a hybrid system of new skill categories in the old management and production contexts. This difficulty of switching to flexible specialization requiring fundamental changes in training, management and labor deployment, has resulted in France focusing on numerical flexibility.

Unlike Germany, French unions have traditionally been hostile to co-determination and have maintained a decentralized collective bargaining system. In addition, state rules and legislation have invariably reduced the scope for negotiations and participation by social partners. The unions have traditionally been interested in wages and employer qualifications. Legislation between 1982-1985 attempted to strengthen consultation and negotiating procedures between unions and employers. In September 1988, a national all-industry agreement was reached on technological change. The agreement was designed to upgrade skills, new patterns of job design, flexible working time arrangements, and the extension of each individual scope for initiative and responsibility.[30]

The national intersectoral agreement of July 9, 1990, was built on the basis of a dialogue between the trade unions, employers and the state; and subsequently, between the three partners and the regional authorities. The Agreement indicated that training for the employed and unemployed will be regulated by law and by national collective agreement. The main focus of France's vocational training program has been on the following objectives: (1) vocational integration of young people; (2) social advancement and vocational development of employees; (3) training of the unemployed; and (4) improving the competitiveness of French companies. The Agreement identified three important future challenges: (1) that the training system must accompany and anticipate the development of skills within enterprises by integrating training into their overall strategy; (2) assuring a supply of high quality and varied training, one capable of meeting the needs of enterprises and of the approximately five

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million employees and job seekers; and (3) to allow young people and unemployed adults to gain qualifications which will not only help them to immediately gain employment, but will also prepare them for future changes in the workplace.[31]

As part of the intersectoral agreement, Skills Assessment Leave, "Conge' de bilan de Competence", will be granted for all employees who have been in employment for at least five years. The leave is designed to allow employees to receive a thorough evaluation of their individual and vocational skills and potentials by an outside organization. The skill assessment leave is also aimed at facilitating career development and re-orientation towards professional and geographical movement. Companies with 10 or more workers are also required to provide statutory training contribution towards the total training costs.

Finally, the new Agreement provided an opportunity for apprenticeship outside the general educational system. This initiative is for a one to three years duration. Compensation for apprentices will be partially or totally exempted from employers' social security contributions. Apprentices are expected to be treated as normal employees with the same rights and obligations. Employers are required to provide apprentices with practical training and to register them at an Apprenticeship Training Center (CFA). The CFAs are established through agreement with the national or regional authorities and they are subjected to state control. The CFAs will provide the general theoretical training, as well as coordinating the training provided by employers.[32]

Despite these new initiatives, statistics for 1990 and 1991 show that majority of the apprenticeships were still in craft trades. The French Ministry of Labor, citing 1991 statistics, indicated that approximately 131,979 apprenticeship contracts were signed. In 1990, 60 percent of all contracts signed were in craft trades and less than 5 percent in industrial occupations. In addition, 80 percent of the contracts were with companies employing fewer than 10 workers. This trend continued has with industrial apprenticeships remaining largely underdeveloped.[33]

Britain

In the 1980s there were significant reversals in the direction of economic policy with a focus on gaining economic efficiency and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

competitiveness, achieving fiscal consolidation, and in reducing government intervention. Despite the generally acknowledge need by British management to move towards greater technical and organizational flexibility, British management adopted an alternative strategy which has resulted in the pursuit of numerical flexibility and the greater casualization of labor.[34]

It is important to understand the role of the conservative government in facilitating market flexibility and competitiveness. With the conservative a-priori assumption of rigidities in the labor market, the dominant strategy aimed at achieving less rigidity in the labor market by reducing the unit cost of labor. The British government enacted several pieces of legislation aimed at regulating labor practices. In 1992, parliament enacted legislation stipulating that, henceforth, unions would only have immunity for a strike relating to their members' own employer, and only if the strike concerns wages and work conditions. In 1984, enacted legislation gave union members power over their leadership. Immunity for a strike should now be supported by majority of the workforce in a secret ballot. It should also be noted that while Britain achieved greater levels of job creation in the 1980s, there was less reduction in wages. The failure of real wages to fall meant that unemployment was largely unresponsive to the new economic strategy. British productivity gains in the 1980s were largely due to curbs on union powers, deregulation, privatization and tax reforms.[35]

Numerous studies have examined the major limitations in Britain's ability to meet the new requirements of globalization, including the use of complex new technology, the creation of multi-skilled workforce, flexible deployment of labor, and the re-organization of management practices. According to Christel Lane, British variant of Taylorism, paid more attention to the cost-cutting potential of Taylorism rather than on its output maximization potential, as was the case in Germany. Christel Lane further argues that despite the potential for technology induced flexibility, this is rarely found in practice. The unwillingness of employers to invest in skill development and training has resulted in Britain adopting a low wage and low skilled alternative strategy. In a similar context, Harvie Ramsay, Anna Pollert and Helen Rainbird, concluded in an OECD study that despite the recognition of changes in employment, labor utilization and the advantages of information technology, "it is hard to find con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vincing support for such favorable expectation in Britain." They added that "Britain has become a center for low cost, low productivity, low technology, and low productivity in which flexibility is often not viable or appropriate."[36]

These observations should also be seen in relation to the ongoing debate on Europe's Social Charter and the position of British Prime Minister, John Major. Mr. Major has argued that rigidities in Europe's labor market are largely responsible for Europe's uncompetitiveness in the global market. The continued emphasis on labor market flexibility has led some to question whether in the British context, labor market flexibility is equivalent to low labor cost, and also whether low labor costs can guarantee increased competitiveness?

Despite recent attempts to reform British educational and training systems, serious problems still remain. In Britain, only one in five 18 year olds enter higher education; one in 12 or 8%, leaves school after age eleven years of compulsory education without any kind of qualifications. The lack of initial qualifications for the majority of students who leave full time education and training at age 16 is not compensated for by increased employer based training. Germany spends three times more than British companies on training; and most British companies base their decisions on training investments on short term pay-offs, rather than on skill creation aimed at boosting long term economic performance.[37]

As part of its new initiatives, the British government has reassessed its non-interventionist training stance. In 1982, the government introduced the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative aimed at increasing the industrial relevance of what is taught in secondary schools. New forms of teacher training, curriculum, and assessment for the 14-18 age group were also introduced.

A new and improved vocational education qualification system was introduced in 1992. In this new system, qualifications count towards a new diploma which becomes part of the entry requirements for higher education. Training and credit scheme have also been extended to every 16 and 17 year old leaving full time education. They will be provided with a voucher which can be cashed in for future training. In addition, nationwide programs will offer young people guarantees of a job with training, if they meet goals established by local employers, schools and colleges.[38]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In an effort to break with past failures in vocational training, the British government has attempted to improve the management of publicly funded training programs. It is the hope of the government to end joint control of training which was established in 1964 with the Industrial Training Boards. The new government initiative is aimed at increasing the involvement of business directors. The British government insists that chief executives will constitute two-thirds of the new Tec boards. An example of this new initiative is the Tyneside Tec. Corporations in the business park at Newcastle-Upon Tyne are working with the Tyneside Tec to ensure that workers benefit from the jobs that are being generated. Companies including British Airways, Cellnet, and the Automobile Association are being offered customized training and recruitment packages by Tyneside Tec. Training packages are also being developed for companies moving on to the sites. Counsellors seconded from the Department of Employment are now assisting with intensive counselling programs for the chronically unemployed.[39]

The Relationship Between Competitiveness and Unemployment

At the July 1993 summit of the G-7 nations in Tokyo, President Clinton invited members of the G-7 nations to a conference in the U.S. to address the problem of persistent unemployment in the G-7 nations. The G-7 Jobs Conference was held in Detroit, Michigan, from March 14-15, 1994. In his address to the conference, President Clinton made the following observations:

> In different ways, every advanced nation faces a stubborn, persistent problem of jobs and incomes. Some are having difficulty creating new jobs, others are having difficulty lifting their people's incomes. In the United States, we have created a lot of new jobs in the last two decades, but for almost two decades now, the wages of hourly workers in America have remained virtually stagnant. The average American worker is working a longer work week than 20 years ago for about the same income.....Thegrowing gap in incomes between the skilled and unskilled threatens not only the strength of our economies in these countries, but also the very fabric of our democratic societies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The reduction in unemployment was an important objective of macro-economic policies in the 1980s. Despite the implementation of fiscal and monetary policies aimed at generating economic growth in the 1980s, the persistence of unemployment has raised serious questions about the effectiveness of these policies in addressing non-cyclical (structural) unemployment. It is increasingly apparent that unemployment rates do not reflect differences in economic growth. Industrial economies with comparable GDP performance have experienced different unemployment rates. This view has been reinforced by several recent studies. A recent study by the U.K. Treasury Department, notes that in the last 30 years, rising real incomes in many OECD countries have co-existed with rising unemployment. The study also notes that unemployment has risen from one person in forty to one in thirteen. In addition, it stresses that unemployment in the United States has been less dramatic: in the 1960s and 1970s, unemployment rate in the U.S. was consistently above that in Europe. However, since 1982, U.S. unemployment has been consistently below the European average. The 1993 OECD Unemployment Report concluded "that economic growth alone will not reduce unemployment to more tolerable level." The Report also adds that unemployment will continue to rise regardless of the economic cycle.[40]

As we have already observed, the increased application of technology in production and the workplace has radical altered the nature of work and the workplace. Numerous studies by the OECD, G-7 and the European Commission have emphasized the shift away from the manufacturing sector and the changing work requirements as important factors contributing to structural unemployment in the leading industrial economies. With the fall in manufacturing jobs and output, the service sector has become the largest source of both output and employment in both the European Union and the U.S. The OECD estimates that in 1992, 62% of jobs in the European Union were in the service, in comparison to 72% in the U.S. Between 1981 and 1991, the European Union lost 3.1 million jobs in industry and 3.3 million jobs in farming. While employment in the service sector rose by 14.9 million, producing a net increase in jobs of 8.5 million, this was more than offset by a 12 million increase in the European Union workforce. Between 1985 and 1992, business services made the largest contribution to employment growth across

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the European Union, accounting for almost one in five of the net addition of jobs. The European Commission estimates that people out of work for more than a year now account for 30% of the OECD unemployed. In Europe, 50% of European job seekers have been out of work for at least a year, compared to only 6% for the U.S. Canada and Sweden. Less than 60% of the working age population Europe was employed in 1993, in comparison to 70% in the U.S.[41]

Why the differing performances of the U.S. and Europe in generating employment in the last 20 years? It is estimated that between 1971 and 1993, employment generation increased from 71 million to 110 million in the United States, with most jobs being created in the private sector. Since 1980, European employment has increased by 6%, compared to 18% in the United States. Unlike the United States, public sector employment has played a key role in Europe. The costs of adjustment to both cyclical downturn and restructuring have also been different in the U.S. and Europe. In the view of most analysts, a key factor is the level of real wages. It has been argued that because of the persistence of low real wages in the U.S., the U.S. has been more successful in responding to changes, including those in the labor market. In addition to lower real wages in the U.S., the system of overlapping long term contracts, a decentralized wage setting, the mobility of the U.S. workforce, smaller duration for which the unemployed in the U.S. receive unemployment benefits, work practices including temporary lay-offs and the use of temporary workers have given the U.S greater flexibility in making adjustments.[42]

Notwithstanding the flexibility in the U.S. economy, numerous studies have pointed to the stagnant growth in real wages in the last two decades. The implication is that the U.S. has recorded the largest earning inequality, and is the only leading industrial economy where many low income workers have experienced substantial real wage cuts.

The Challenge for Europe: Reconciling Employment Security and Persistence Unemployment

High labor, productivity and operating costs in most European economies have made the achievement of labor market flexibility the basis of Europe's employment policy. In the view of most European policy makers, the unemployment problem poses the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greatest threat to European integration. The challenge of achieving employment intensive growth is complicated by the fact that western Europe's division of labor has become sharper in relation to other low wage producers, both in east and central Europe, and the economies of the Asian-Pacific Rim. Globalization of production is therefore forcing labor intensive industries to increasingly leave western Europe. In addition, Europe's response to the changing requirements of globalization has been inadequate to facilitate a focus on high technology, high value and high skilled labor production.

In contrast to the United States, most European economies have attempted to avoid the creation of low skilled and low paying jobs by preventing pay from falling through the maintenance of relatively high minimum wages, unemployment benefits and public sector employment. Despite policies aimed at public sector employment reduction in the 1980s, there has only been a minimum adjustment in wages, with no significant increase in employment. This is particularly the case in Germany which has attempted to avoid the creation of mass produced, low skilled, and low quality goods. As Europe attempts a policy shift from employment protection to employment creation, one of the central issues to be addressed is whether the generosity of the European employment system is the primary cause of the persistence in real wages. In the view of Alog and Manning, Europe's centralized wage setting affects the preference for wages over employment and the responsiveness of both real and nominal wages.

Europe's attempts at employment generation should be seen in the context of structural changes or shifts from traditional industries to high service and high technology industries. European firms are the weakest in the world's most dynamic industries. These industries, including telecommunications, media, financial services and retailing, remain protected from effective foreign competition, and they are balkanized by the provision of state aids, the promotion of national champions, and the persistence of regulatory barriers and the use of discriminatory public procurement.

The continuing decline in manufacturing employment in Europe has to be seen in relation to rising labor costs. According to the OECD, manufacturing employment in Europe has declined by 8% in the last 20 years, with the worst casualty of 35% in Britain.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the last four years, there has been a 15% cumulative rise in German unit labor costs. With rising labor and operating costs, European producers are reducing employment in Europe and increasing their global activities. The Anglo-Dutch consumer goods producer, Unilever, now has half of its operating assets outside of Europe. In the last decade, the German electronics company, Siemens, has trebled its sales to the U.S. to almost $5 billion, while at the same time increasing its U.S. employees from 13,6000 to 33,500.

Increased technological assimilation and reduced differentials are also contributing to cross-border rationalization and cost-cutting in Europe. For instance, workers of General motors in Hungary have achieve 100% flexibility in both productivity and quality, thereby making Hungarian plants comparable to those in western Europe. With an average monthly wage of 300 German mark, workers at GM auto plants in Hungary earn one-eight of the pay of those in GM's west German car plants.[44] The German car producer, Audi, is investing 300 million German mark in an engine components plant in northwest Hungary , with all production to be exported to the Audi assembly plant in Ingolstadt, Germany. Audi's feasibility study discovered that Hungary has a 15% cost advantage over other short listed sites in Austria and east Germany. Capital investments in Hungary, Poland, the Czech republic and Slovakia are now estimated at $9 billion. With a cost of only a third or a fourth of levels in Britain, Hungary has set the standard for low cost production in east and central Europe. Commenting on this new trend, the Sunday Times of London, writes: "Europe's unemployed are paid more not to work than Chinese, Thais and Malaysians are paid to do jobs that Europe is losing.....multinationals have boarded an industrial Orient Express expanding capacity in Bangkok rather than Birmingham, where wages and taxes are lower and productivity much the same.[45]

European employers view the burdens on them as the underlying problems of European competitiveness. French employers argue that unemployment persists because of the tendency for the minimum wage to rise far faster than average wages, as well as the high welfare charges that employers must pay. For workers organizations, the highest priorities are employment and wage security. Increasingly, the trend in labor-management relations is the trading of wage increases for job security. A case in point is the pay deal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between Germany's engineering employers federation, Gesamtmetall and the engineering workers union, IG Metall. Employers demanded and obtained a pay freeze for 3.6 million engineering workers. The employers federation also proposed a shorter working hours in companies facing temporary slump in demand. This proposal was made as an alternative to further job cuts.[46]

European strategies aimed at employment generation and enhanced competitiveness now focus on reduction in both employers' social security contributions and unemployment benefits provided by European states. In a wider context the sweeping cuts in social transfers, including medical and pension payouts as well as other forms of social security, should be seen in the context of the impact of public expenditures on existing budget deficits. In 1993, Germany's ruling coalition agreed on savings worth DM 25 billion for fiscal year 1994, largely in social spending. German Finance Minister, Theo Waigel, proposed a reduction of DM 35 billion for 1995 and DM 40 billion for 1996. Key components of the proposal included a 3% across the board cut in unemployment and social assistance benefits, an imposition of a 32 months time limit on unemployment pay and the cancellation of bad weather pay for workers in the building industry.[47]

Finally, it should be noted that recent studies of comparative employment performance in Europe have questioned some of the widely held assumptions on the causes of endemic unemployment in Europe. The EC study entitled, "An Industrial Competitiveness Policy for the European Union," stressed the need for European nations to abandon once cherished notions such as national champions and sectoral protection. The study argued that government barriers, rather than labor market rigidities, help explain low employment generation in Europe; economic liberalization should be accompanied by more aggressive competition and regulatory policies. It also stressed the need for life-long vocational training and global strategic alliances.

The sixth annual report on European employment, which was publishes in September 1994, observes that increased labor flexibility and higher job turnover provides no simple solution to Europe's unemployment problem. The Report also maintains that the conventional view, regarding that easing of movement into and out of jobs is a necessary condition of low unemployment, is without foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Instead, the Report expresses concern over the high non-wage labor costs in Europe. When employer, employee contributions are considered, in addition to taxes on wages, the average difference between the cost of employing labor to companies and the net earnings which workers receive, is 45% in the European Union, in contrast to 40% in the U.S. and 30% in Japan. The Report also notes that in nine out of twelve E.U. countries, the non-wage labor costs imposed by governments have a greater impact on workers at the lower end of the earnings scale than those at the higher end, with the U.K. being the notable exception. The report also reveals that there are more European households which fall below the poverty level of expenditure because of low pay than because of unemployment or disability.

Conclusion

The growing interest in comparative research relative to global competition has indeed stimulated the debate on the advantages and limitations of different advanced capitalist systems in responding to the techno-economic paradigm shift. While it can be argued that the new requirements of globalization have overthrown some important assumptions on national or autonomous based economic strategies, it is important to recognize that the new configuration has engendered new challenges and contradictions which make social and economic policies at the national economic space crucial in enhancing global competitiveness. Essentially, the new sources of global competition dictate that competitiveness cannot be maintained or enhanced without the development of national capabilities or the elimination of competitive deficiencies.

Notwithstanding the different strategies or responses at the national levels, there are several common challenges facing all advanced capitalist economies. Central of which is the need to achieve system flexibility. It is now generally recognized that the achievement of system flexibility requires the implementation of long term strategies. Herein lies a principal contradiction: the success of long term strategies relies on economic and social stabilization in the short and intermediate period. Contrary to this important pre-requisite, the re-organization of production, work and the workplace along with corporate rationalization strategies, indicate a significant level of economic and social re-organization or dislocation. What is the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

zation and long term sustainable growth? The difficulties in achieving these objectives are becoming apparent as we witness further acceleration in the cyclical upturn. The fear of inflation which was so dominant in the 1970s and early 1980s still cast a major shadow on current macro-economic policies, particularly the desire for employment generating growth strategies.

Despite the optimism attached to technology-induced flexibility in the 1990s, it is increasingly recognized that technological rationalization strategies do not necessarily contribute to the full exploitation of scientific and technological advances. It is this recognition that has increased the focus of attention on both the social context in which competition takes place, and the social and economic implications of global competition. The acceleration of the cyclical upturn would provide ample evidence for us to resolve some of the critical issues in the current debate. A central issue to be resolved is the need to identify those problems which were largely due to the cyclical downturn and those that were structural in nature.

Notwithstanding the importance of such empirical analyses, it has become quite evident to many, including policy makers, that the central relationship between competitiveness, economic growth and employment generation may indeed pose the most dominant economic and social challenge in the 1990s. Whether it is at the national or global level, concerns now center on jobs creation, skill contents of work, income disparity, and social inequalities and deepening polarization. These concerns were crucial in President Clinton's decision to convene a Jobs Summit of the leading industrial economies in Detroit, Michigan, in March 1994.

In a wider global context, the United Nations is in the process of organizing a World Summit for Social Development because of concerns over the social implications of the current techno-economic paradigm shift. The Social Development Summit to be held in Copenhagen, Denmark, in March 1995, will examine the central issue of sustainable development in relation to productive employment, the reductions in labor intensive jobs, social integration and the reduction of widespread poverty.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes

1. See George C. Lodge's contribution in "How Real is America's Decline?" *Harvard Business Review*, (September-October) 1992, p.162.
2. Folker Frobel, "The Current Development of the World Economy: Reproduction of Labor and Accumulation on a World Scale," *Review*, Vol.V, No.4. (Spring 1982).
3. See Peter G. Peterson, "The Morning After," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (October 1987).
4. Charles Morris, "The Coming Global Boom," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (October 1989).
5. Mike Davis, "Fordism in Crisis: a Review of Michel Aglietta's Regulation et crises: L'experience des Etats-Unis," *Review*, Vol.II, No.2. (Fall 1978).
6. Alain Lipietz, "Towards Global Fordism," *New Left Review*, No.132 (March-April 1982), p.35.
7. Christel Lane, *Management and Labor in Europe*, (London: Edward Elgar Publishers, 1989), p.141.
8. Shoshana Zuboff, "Can Research Reinvent the Corporation?" *Harvard Business Review*, (March-April).
9. See Lane, *Management and Labor in Europe*, p.149-150.
10. See Michel L. Dertouzas, Richard K. Lester, Robert M. Solow and the MIT Commission on Industrial Productivity, *Made in America, Regaining the Productive Edge*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989) and *Making Things Better: Competing in Manufacturing*, Report of the Office of Technology Assessment, (Washington,D.C. U.S. Printing Office, 1990).
11. See Hilary Pennington's contribution in "How Real is America's Decline?" *Harvard Business Review*, (September-October, 1992), p.166
12. Michael Porter, "Capital Disadvantage: America's Failing Capital Investment System," *Harvard Business Review*, (September-October, 1992), p.65.
13. William B. Johnston, "Global Work Force 2000: The New World Labor Market," *Harvard Business Review*, (March-April, 1991).
14. See *Fortune Magazine*, (January 25, 1993) p.56.
15. Pennington, "How Real is America's Decline?"
16. Michael Prowse, "How Real is America's Decline?" *Harvard Business Review*, (September-October, 1992).
17. *Financial Times of London*, (October, 26, 1992).
18. *Business Week* (June 14, 1993), p.57.
19. *Business Week* (July 1994).
20. See Lester Thurow, *Head to Head*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1992), Michael Prowse, "How Real is America's Decline?", Kevin Phillips, "U.S. Industrial Policy: Inevitable and Ineffective," *Harvard Business Review*, (July-August) and Herbert A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henzler, "The New Era of Eurocapitalism," *Harvard Business Review*, (July-August, 1992).

21. George Gilder, *Microcosm*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), p.346.
22. *Sunday Times of London*, (June 6, 1993), pp.14-15.
23. See Lane, *Management and Labor in Europe*.
24. Lane, *(Management and Labor in Europe)*
25. Lane, *(Management and Labor in Europe)*, p.180.
26. Kathleen Thomas, "German Job Training: A Model for America?" *Washington Post*, (October 18, 1992), p.A1.
27. *European Industrial Relations Review*, #215, (December, 1991), p.13.
28. Ibid.
29. *Financial Times of London*, (September 25, 1992), p.11.
30. *Financial Times of London*, (October 26, 1992).
31. EIRR, #215.
32. *Human Resource E*, #10, (August-September, 1991), p.11.
33. Ibid.
34. *New Directions in Work Organization: The Industrial Response*, (OECD, Paris, 1992)
35. See Kent Matthews and Patrick Minford, "Mrs. Thatcher's Economic Policies 1979-1987," *Economic Policy*, (October 1987).
36. *(New Directions in Work Organization)*, p.189.
37. *Sunday Times of London*, (September 21, 1991), p.2.
38. *Financial Times of London*, (May 21, 1991) p.9.
39. *Financial Times of London*, (December 3, 1990), p.14.
40. See "Competitiveness and Employment: Policies for the Industrial Countries," *Her Majesty Treasury, Employment Department Group*, July 1993.
41. *Financial Times of London*, (June 21, 1993).
42. George S. Alogoskoufis and Alan Manning, "On the Persistence of Unemployment," *Economic Policy*, (October 1988), p.449.
43. ibid.
44. *Financial Times of London*, (March 3, 1994), p.14.
45. Brian Reading, "Major is Wrong: Maastricht is not Good for Britain or Europe," *Sunday Times of London*, (June 2, 1993), p.8.
46. *Financial Times of London*, (March 3, 1991), p.1.
47. *Financial Times of London*, (June 28, 1992), p.4.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Decline and Fall of the Freudian Empire

Hans J. Eysenck
University of London & Maudsley Hospital, London

Clothbound 224 pages

CONTENTS

Freud the Man
Psychoanalysis as a Method of Treatment
Freud and the Development of the Child
The Interpretation of Dreams
The Experimental Study of Freudian Concepts
Psycho-babble and Pseudo-history
Bibliography and Indexes

Freudian theory has recently attracted considerable attention as new developments in science and statistical processes have brought the validity of his conclusions into question.

The author, who may claim to be the world's most frequently cited psychologist, argues that Freudian psychoanalysis is largely imaginative, lacks experimental justification, and is totally lacking in any claim to scientific authenticity.

ISBN 1-87465-01-5 **Price $25.00**
Clothbound
MASTERCARD AND VISA ACCEPTED

Scott-Townsend Publishers
P.O. Box 34070
N.W. Washington D.C. 20043
Tel: (202) 371-2500 Fax: (202) 371-1523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK REVIEW ARTICLE

The World Population Explosion and the Cost of Uncontrolled Immigration

Dwight D. Murphey
Wichita State University

The Immigration Invasion
Wayne Lutton and John Tanton
Petoskey, Michigan: The Social Contract Press, 1994[1]

It would hardly seem too much to say that data released in *The Immigration Invasion* indicate that the cultural and even the political existence of the United States as history has known it is now seriously in jeopardy.

If there were the mere fact that in the United States the attacks on mainstream American culture have become both increasingly common and embittered, that in itself would not be especially remarkable; "bourgeois culture," after all, has been under attack in the United States since at least 1820. The "alienation of the intellectual" against precisely that culture has been one of the major factors in American history. But what *is* remarkable is that in recent years the mainstream of the society has been willing, through an unprecedented forfeiture, to allow a vast demographic change to occur that arms the alienation with ever-increasing "muscle." If that change continues, the apostles of division (consisting of many of those marching under the banner of "diversity") are likely to become ever more strident – and will be backed up, far more than they are even today, by political lobbies representing opposing ethnic blocs. The change will be a demographic one resulting from accelerating immigration, both legal and illegal, mostly of non-European origin,

[1] The Social Contract Press, 316 1/2 East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, Michigan 49770; a hardcover edition is available under the name *The Costs of Immigration*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the higher birth rate among the immigrants. At some time, a "tipping point" will be reached, beyond which the demographic balance will have swung so far that the "mainstream" will no longer be in a position to know its own mind or assert its own will. This will occur long before the present mainstream loses its majority status. It isn't certain just when the political-ideological tipping point will be reached, but a serious argument can be made that the United States has gone beyond that point already.

The usual reaction by white middle class Americans to such crises as they affect their individual lives has been simply to take advantage of the mobility that a free society makes possible: they have engaged in all sorts of "white flight," first from the central cities to the suburbs and then out into exurbia. They now even flee from an entire state such as California, doing so as a new type of affluent refugee to Oregon and Colorado and even Kansas. This flight is understandable on the part of each individual family, but it has lessened the desire to "stand and fight" politically and is one of the factors that accounts for the peculiar political impotence of the American middle class during the years when angry "minorities" have stood bestride the American landscape.

There are many signs, however, that the average American is awakening to the saignificance of the immigration issue. Most conspicuous, of course, is the fact that for several years polls have shown an increasing opposition to the influx. Another sign is the June 1994 publication – in a first printing of 200,000 copies! – of *The Immigration Invasion* by Wayne Lutton and John Tanton, as well as the interest taken in other books on the subject, such as *Will America Drown? Immigration and the Third World Population Explosion* (Humphrey Dalton, Editor, Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1994). The Foreword to *The Immigration Invasion* is written by former Senator Eugene McCarthy, and this by itself attests to the breadth of the emerging consensus. Those who are identified as "cultural conservatives" are not alone in voicing concern.

It is true that the Lutton-Tanton book is one among many that have sought to catch the public's eye. For reasons that will become apparent, this author has been especially impressed by Lawrence Auster's *The Path to National Suicide* (American Immigration Control Foundation 1990). But Lutton and Tanton have assembled, in a brief and easily readable book, so compelling a compilation of facts about

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the recent tidal wave of immigration that this article will mostly be a review of that book, adding such additional facts and observations as may be relevant. Wayne Lutton has his doctorate in history from Southern Illinois University and is a prolific author on the immigration issue. John H. Tanton, a physician, who long been concerned with over-population, and was the national president of Zero Population Growth between 1975-77.

The discussion here will proceed in somewhat a different order than their own. They start with the consequences flowing from the immigration in such areas as health and welfare costs, labor market impact, the politics of race, crime, and quality of life, probably because they want to make clear quite early why the subject is of vital interest to their readers. It is only then that they recount the facts about the extent of the immigration itself. In the present article, it will be important to explore the extent of the immigration first, doing so as part of placing the phenomenon in a worldwide perspective. The Third World influx offers to swamp out not just the United States but Europe as well. The challenge to the United States must be seen in the context of a massively swelling world population and of demographic shifts that place the continued existence of both European and American civilization, in anything like the form they have heretofore taken, in jeopardy.

Our change in the order of discussion will also reflect our sense that the "tangible consequences" of the immigration, such as are set out so fully in the Lutton and Tanton book, even though highly significant, are not as important as the intangible consequences. Even if the immigration had no adverse effects in such areas as health and welfare costs, it would be a fact of the utmost historical importance if Europe and the United States were to lose their cultural identity. Such vital "intangible" issues will occupy at least the initial part of our discussion.

Two Matters That Must be Seen in Perspective

World Population Growth and the Swamping of Europe

Writing in *Conservative Review*, James K. Patterson has said that "for thousands of years the world's population was between 100 and 300 million...By 1945, the world population of human beings had grown to 2 billion; by 1975 it had risen to nearly 4 billion and today [1991] it is moving on towards 5 and a half billion, with nearly 100

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million being added annually."[1] Palmer Stacy cites a projection that "world population...is expected to reach 8.5 billion in the next 31 years," to which he adds that "most of this increase is in poor Third World countries."[2] To have some sense of the immensity of these figures, it is worth keeping in mind that a *billion* is *one thousand million*.

So vast an increase in world population arises out of, and is dependent upon, modern technology, agriculture, medicine, sanitation, market freedoms, and trade. Humanity has, so to speak, "climbed out on a limb" by so greatly increasing its numbers; any failure to maintain the high level of civilization that exists in the more developed countries can lead to catastrophes throughout the world that will far exceed any horrors witnessed so far in human history.

The impact on conditions within individual countries is incalculable. Patterson says that "in Kenya, the average woman produces eight living children, so that country *doubles its population every seventeen years*. With statistics such as these, no 'developing country' can hope to save itself, let alone develop."[3] Stacy tells us that Mexico increased "from 34 million in 1960 to 72 million in 1980."[4]

We know, of course, that in the aftermath of World Wars I and II, which have been aptly described together as at least in major part a great European civil war, the nations of Europe suffered severe debilitation and withdrew from their colonial empires, which prior to the mid-twentieth century extended European influence over much of what is today called the Third World. What is perhaps equally significant is that since the end of World War II European civilization, including its United States extension, has been under heavy ideological and moral siege. As the voices of non-European peoples have been amplified the world over, everything "Eurocentric" has come under attack as inherently repressive. Subject, of course, to notable exceptions, the professional and academic elites in Europe and America (who in any case have been under the influence of the cultural alienation of the Left) have been anxious to add their voices to this siege, projecting a mentality of apology and moral dejection. In the United States, for example, a great many educated Americans are more than ready – even anxious – to believe that earlier Americans acted immorally in "taking the continent from the Indians" and that the Roosevelt administration "interned" the Japanese-Americans during World War II.[5]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is in this demoralized context that the vast population pressures from the Third World have come to bear. Even if Europe and America's morale and will-to-exist were at their highest, the vastly exploding world population would exert enormous pressure to overflow its national and continental boundaries, and to run like a stream into all available spaces, especially into places that offer the affluence and high quality of life that Europe and the United States enjoy. But this stream confronts no obstacles, no sea walls, when Europe and America have so little moral energy. It would hardly come to the minds of their elites to think in terms of having civilizational prerogatives to preserve, much less about how to mobilize a defense against the demographic washing-away that is occurring. Their own lack of morale and moral stamina threatens to make any response "far too little and too late."

Germany, a country of some 80 million people, had by June of 1993 taken in 1.8 million Turks, and "more Bosnian refugees than all other nations combined." The first four months of 1993 saw an influx of 167,000 additional immigrants.[6] The political editor of the conservative *Das Ostpreussenblatt* in Hamburg, Joachim F. Weber, wrote in November 1993 that "the foreign population of West Germany before reunification with East Germany was about five million. In the past three years about two million have been added...Four-fifths of the foreigners come from various poor countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe."[7] Under German law, a simple uttering of the word "asylum" has entitled them to enter. A September 1992 dispatch by the New York Times News Service reported that any change in the pro-immigration Constitution of 1949 can only be accomplished by a two-thirds vote of the Bundestag; this made approval by the Social Democrats necessary for passage, but for many years they were unwilling to give it.[8] It was only in May 1993, after a great deal of bitter and often violent social friction, that the Bundestag restricted the asylum laws.[9] Weber explains that the "real establishment" in contemporary Germany is composed of the erstwhile revolutionaries of the "generation of 1968," which welcomes a social revolution in the form of a move into multiculturalism.

Great Britain's influx prompted Winston Churchill's grandson in mid-1993 to cry out against the "relentless flow of immigrants." Patrick Buchanan quotes him as saying that "if our prime minister believes that fifty years hence 'spinsters will still be cycling to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communion on Sunday morning,' he had best think again. Rather, 'the *muezzin* will be calling Allah's faithful to the High Street mosque.'"[10] Islam is already conspicuously present.

France has undergone a similar invasion, foretold by what Jeffrey Hart has called a "nightmare vision" in Jean Raspail's futuristic novel *The Camp of the Saints*.[11] Buchanan says that "Churchill's remarks came just days before France's interior minister called for 'zero immigration'...."

Demographics as the Basis for Liberal Politics and Ideology in the United States Since World War II

The intellectual culture that served as the cornerstone of "liberalism" in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century was committed, in phases, to one form or another of socialism and was at all times profoundly alienated against what it saw as the "bourgeois" mainstream of American life.

Although from a conservative's point of view this "liberalism" brought about vast changes in the society, especially in the Constitutional allocation of power, the liberal intellectual culture, in its own in-house literature as distinct from the image portrayed through the media, was at virtually all times in a mood of despondency. The changes weren't coming rapidly enough for it, and it could see ahead to no assurance that the United States would allow itself to be transformed into a socialist society. All of this is traced in the present author's book *Liberalism in Contemporary America*, which is based on an in-depth reading of the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, and other liberal writings during that period and the decades following World War II.[12]

This intellectual liberalism was not itself the prime mover behind the black Civil Rights Movement that followed World War II, but seemed merely to follow meekly into it. It wasn't long, though, before the intellectual culture came to sense that the irresistible moral appeal of racial equality and the political-ideological alliances this made possible offered a powerful vehicle for liberalism itself, giving it a new program and sense of direction. At first this liberalism was centered around the Civil Rights Movement, but it is significant that by the 1970s and 1980s the egalitarian thrust came to embrace the newly burgeoned feminist movement and a multiculturalism that championed a variety of "minorities." Blacks came

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no longer to be the centerpiece of liberal ideology and politics, but to share the stage with others.

Consistently with the amazing adaptability of the American Left, the theoretical basis for the egalitarian thrust also changed, not once, but in phases. At first, it took one of the fundamental principles of Western law, equality before the law, as its premise, and was able to use this successfully against the racial separation that existed in the United States. By a considerable leap, it went next to advocating a system of compensatory preferences, justified on the ground that preferences were needed to undo the effects of prior discrimination. Then by another leap, the preferences were extended into a vast system that encompasses not just blacks but women and immigrant minorities that have no history of prior discrimination to be compensated for. Beyond that, there is now a championing of the right of non-Americans from all continents to come and share at the egalitarian table. We call these things "leaps," but the transition has occurred by imperceptible degrees as the egalitarian moral claims have swept everything before them.

Little of this would have taken hold, however, if it had not been for the intellectual, moral vacuum that existed within the predominant culture and that caused a general acquiescence in it. Many have opposed it, but their voices have been cries in the wilderness. Even the election of a succession of Republican presidents did little to stimulate an intellectual and moral, and then political, response. The expression "the silent majority" captures the essence of one of the main facts about American society between World War II and, perhaps, the election of 1994. Examples abound and relate to a variety of areas: eighty percent, say, of the voters in Kansas can for several years favor the death penalty, only to see their preference overridden by officeholders who march to a different drummer; and, what is most pertinent to the subject of this article, a strong majority of Americans can for several years favor tightening immigration, while the political elite that has had the most influence with both parties has chosen to do just the opposite. There is much lip-service to "democracy" in the United States, but it is clearly not the mainstream of Americans that has controlled the country's political and ideological direction.

The impotence of the American mainstream has been the result of a number of factors. Perhaps the foremost of these is that a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

society of "acting men" (which is what a commercial, "bourgeois" society is) needs an intellectual culture appropriate to itself: one that criticizes and elevates, but that is essentially loyal. This is precisely something that bourgeois societies have historically lacked, and it is a fatal weakness. It leads directly to inarticulateness, failure to take the moral initiative, apologetics, and to the type of obsequious fawning after "political correctness" that so many "educated" and "sophisticated" Americans have shown toward the ideas of the media and of the alienated intellectual culture throughout much of the twentieth century.

The United States: the Immigration Invasion, Now and as Projected

The Numbers

In September 1994, an Associated Press story about a report prepared by the Population Reference Bureau said that "there were about 880,000 legal immigrants to the United States last year, and as many as 2.5 million entered the country illegally." Of the illegal entrants, it said that many leave again but that "an estimated 300,000 stay permanently. "Nearly 3,000 immigrants arrive in the United States each day."[13]

The population of the United States is expanding rapidly. *Border Watch* reports that "as recently as 1988, the Census Bureau predicted that U.S. population (now 255 million) would rise to about 300 million by 2050 and then level off or decline. Now [in early 1993] it projects a population of 380 million in 2050 which will continue to rise." Reasons include not simply the number of immigrants, but their much higher birth rate.[14]

Figures from the Census Bureau show a continuing increase in the percentage of the American population composed of minorities. It was 13.1% at the beginning of the century, and this had increased to only 14.9 percent by 1960. But by 1980, it was 20.2%; by 1992, 25.2%. The projection for the year 2050 is that 47.0% will be minority.[15] The Population Reference Bureau report gave the following ethnic breakdown for the projected 2050 population: Hispanics 20% (from their present 10%); Asians 10% (from 3%); Blacks 14% (from 12%). "Non-Hispanic whites," the present majority, "will decline from 74 percent to 52 percent."[16] All projections are, of course, based on certain assumptions. Lawrence

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Auster cites calculations by demographer Leon Bouvier which arrive at a 53.8% white non-Hispanic population in the United States in 2050, but then adds that a more realistic set of assumptions about immigration and birth rates leads Bouvier to a 48.9% figure.[17]

Absolute numbers, as distinct from percentages, are startling. A Los Angeles Times/Washington Post Service article in early 1993 said that "an estimated 100,000 Asians are illegally entering the United States each year...."[18] Columnist Cal Thomas says that "while the population of Port-au-Prince is 472,000, the Haitian population of New York City is estimated at 400,000.[19] A Knight-Ridder News Service article in December 1993 reports that "the people least discussed in the immigration controversy are those who come in the front door, using student visas, visitor visas and work visas. When the visas run out, they just stay – about 300,000 a year." Approximately the same number come across the border illegally from Mexico.[20]

High-Impact Areas in the United States

California. Writing in *Chronicles*, Wayne Lutton refers to Leon Bouvier's *Fifty Million Californians?* and says "California's population, now at 31 million, may surpass 50 million by 2020. Well before that happens, perhaps as soon as the year 2000, the state's non-Hispanic whites are expected to comprise less than half of the population."[21] Stacy says that "California's population grew by 6.1 million during the 1980's, with almost 40% of the growth caused by immigration. In 1991-92, the state gained at least 303,000 immigrants while it experienced a net loss of 41,000 Americans who fled to other states."[22] George M. Carmichael said in 1990 that in California "while whites are still a majority among the older people, white children are now a minority in the public schools. Hispanics make up 31.4% of the children enrolled in the public school system, Asians and other immigrant minorities constitute 11%, and blacks 8.9% – totalling 51.3% non-white."[23]

Florida. In the same *Chronicles* article, Lutton said that "according to the 1990 census, 76 percent of Floridians were 'Anglos,' 13 percent black, and 12 percent Hispanic. If current fertility, mortality, and migration patterns continue, the Anglo proportion will fall to 64 percent by 2020 and 57 percent by 2050. The proportion of blacks will increase from 16 percent in 2020 and 19 percent in 2050, while the proportion of Hispanics will likewise rise to 16 and 19 percent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over those same periods."[24] (These figures show Florida to retain a white non-Hispanic majority longer than other areas. This would seem to be due to the migration of large numbers of older whites to Florida for retirement.)

Texas. Bouvier and Dudley Poston (who chairs Texas A&M's sociology department) have co-authored a book *Thirty Million Texans?* It is from this that Lutton derives the figures that "should current trends continue here, by 2005 non-Hispanic whites will no longer be the majority and by 2020 Latinos will surpass Anglos to become the state's largest ethnic group." He points out that in terms of educational attainments, in Texas "nearly 34 percent of African-Americans and 55.5 percent of Latinos [have] less than a high school education. A remarkable 38 percent of Latinos have less than a ninth grade education."[25]

Some Advantages, Many Damaging Effects

A debate has raged between supporters and opponents of the influx about its economic effects, the supporters arguing that the immigrants, including those who have entered illegally, contribute beneficially to the economy, exhibiting a strong work ethic and doing jobs that Americans don't want to do. This debate reflects the research of reputable economists on both sides, but sometimes the economic argument by the supporters becomes ludicrous: in an article entitled "Assimilation Enriches America's Melting Pot" in *Insight*, John J. Miller, the associate director of the Manhattan's Institute's Center for the New American Community, asks "who could possibly find a lift in Washington if it weren't for African and Latin American taxi drivers?" – apparently forgetting that there were taxicabs in Washington, D.C., long before that trade was taken over by immigrants.[26]

There is no doubt that a significant portion of the immigration strengthens the United States in a number of ways. Many of the new immigrants show high energy, entrepreneurial spirit, family commitment, intelligence and work ethic. In addition, the United States has long been the beneficiary of a "brain drain" of scientific and professional people from throughout the world. In American universities today, many faculty members are from Iran, India and Asia. In this dimension, the immigration may have revitalizing effects similar to those experienced by Rome after the city-state conquered the whole

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Italian peninsula. This raises, of course, a serious policy and ethical concern. Ought the United States to be draining intelligence from nations that need it desperately? This has prompted Garrett Hardin to ask: "Are India and Sri Lanka so well supplied with medical care that they can afford to donate doctors to us?"[27]

A review of the points made by Lutton and Tanton in *The Immigration Invasion*, will show a number of tangible disadvantages in such areas as crime, health and welfare costs, etc. Before such a review, however, there will be several "intangible" problems to discuss.

The Impending Loss of National, Cultural Identity

Lawrence Auster refers to what may be the most important question: "What is the impact of immigration on the whole society – on America as a *civilization*?" (his emphasis). He speaks of "the erosion – and ultimately the submergence – of every defining aspect of American civilization." He quotes a Latino author as celebrating the fact that "we're changing the language, the food, the music, the way of being. We're changing you into a Latin country." Auster says that "American national culture is being supplanted by Third World cultures. We are now experiencing the following phenomena in this country: a 25-foot-high statue of the Aztec god of human sacrifice is being erected in a public square in the Hispanic-majority city of San Jose, Calif.; Santeria, a cult that practices animal sacrifice, is now constitutionally protected under the First Amendment; huge festivals awash in pagan symbols celebrating 'West Indian Day' and 'Hispanic Day' regularly disrupt life in major cities...At the same time, traditional American symbols and images are being discarded because they don't 'represent' our new, non-Western population...The Alamo is reconceptualized as a Hispanic monument. The Pearl Harbor memorial is relativized so as not to offend Japanese-Americans."[28]

Whether concern about national identity is good or bad is in part a question of objective fact, since advantageous and disadvantageous consequences of a change in the identity can be evaluated; but primarily it is a matter of love and loyalty. It will be the central concern for those who cherish America for what it has been; those who are alienated against the American mainstream will oppose any such loyalty; those whose background causes them to be indifferent may assign little importance to it. We should note, however, that most people have come to the United States because they have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

valued what America is. If that essence is destroyed, their dream, too, is gone.

When we speak of an impending loss of national, as distinct from cultural, identity, we refer to the threat that is posed to the polity as such. The naive assumption that the United States is bound forever to remain a unified country is coming to have less and less foundation. A strong separatist movement has existed in Canada among the French-speaking population of Quebec; and since the collapse of the Soviet Union the world has witnessed a large number of ethnic separations, most notably in the old Yugoslavia, where carnage has taken the form of "ethnic cleansing." The booklet by the American Conservative Party entitled "Are We Losing America?" points out that some pressure groups "are lobbying for completely open borders and others are demanding a 'return' of the entire Southwestern United States to Mexico, or alternatively, the creation of a separate 'Chicano' nation to be known as 'Aztlan.'"[29] Before such a separation, the United States will suffer much bitter ethnic strife. Yuji Aida, professor emeritus at the University of Kyoto in Japan, has no more than expressed a truism when he has said that "it is only a matter of time before U.S. minority groups espouse self-determination in some form. When that happens, the country may become ungovernable."[30] It is very much to the point that Rick Carroll has reported in the December 26, 1994, issue of *Insight* that, spurred on by the multiculturalist movement, a movement for sovereignty has since the mid-1980s arisen in Hawaii, with some groups calling for total independence. (The lack of moral self-assertion by contemporary Americans, referred to earlier, is well illustrated by the U. S. Congress's having in 1993 voted an apology to native Hawaiians for the United States' having overthrown the kingdom of Hawaii a century before.)

The issue of national identity – the critical issue – is among those choked by ideological smog. Love for, and loyalty to, a civilization that has been preeminently European and caucasian is attacked as "racism." Accordingly, Carl Rowan, a black columnist, has been moved to write in the following vein: "Spewing forth some of the most unsubtle racial bigotry imaginable, [Patrick] Buchanan argued that 'there is nothing wrong with us sitting down and arguing that issue that we are a European country, an English-speaking country.'"[31]

This makes it vital that Americans become clear about what

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

constitutes "racism." If it is vicious "racism" to be pro-caucasian, but colorful and laudatory to wear a "black power" T-shirt or to applaud Hispanics' "appreciation of their heritage," the term ceases to have meaning, and the society is left with a raw double-standard that is nothing other than an intimidating ploy. No one is being demanded to foreswear allegiance to his kind except Europeans, Euro-Americans and caucasians; everyone else is encouraged to celebrate his ethnic, racial or national identity. For alienated ideologues to promulgate this is understandable; what is not fathomable is that so transparent a ruse is accepted, as in fact it is, by so many whites.

With regard to the meaning of "racism," the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) recently said that "perhaps the best definition is an attitude of superiority and contempt of one racial group for another. This attitude usually shows itself in attempts of the 'superior' group to dominate and oppress its victims."[32] Instead of defining racism as "loyalty to one's own kind," and thus branding as vicious an affinity that people are bound to feel at all times and places, their definition looks to how that loyalty is manifested. Something is racist if it assumes a hostile and oppressive posture toward other peoples. So long as a great many Europeans and Americans of European extraction accept the notion that loyalty to their own kind is racism, they are on their way to committing civilizational suicide. It is amazing how human beings are moved by ideas--and, perhaps even more significantly, by confusion regarding ideas.

The activists for other peoples do not hesitate to use this Euro-American moral diffidence to their own advantage. Wendell Peart has written that "immigrant advocates who use the term racism do so to hide their own racial views and preferences. Often, this is done to advance their racial agendas." His article bore a perceptive title: "Uncontrolled Immigration is Racist."[33]

Another ideological issue relating to national, cultural identity arises out of the vagaries of conservative and "classical liberal" thought. Auster shows clear insight when he points out that "proimmigration conservatives believe that America is defined solely by universal ideas."[34] To these conservatives or libertarians, free markets and limited government are central to what is best in our society--and are values that should work to good advantage everywhere, among all peoples. It is an easy step from this to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assumption that free societies have no particular civilizational prerequisites.

Such thinkers are taking their cue from much classical and neo-classical economic thought. Richard Cobden of the Manchester School, for example, was for free trade and open borders. The aspiration was that such ideas would spread throughout the world, leading to a worldwide "liberal" (in the original sense of that much-abused word) civilization. Classical liberalism in the nineteenth century was emphatically cosmopolitan, having little apparent concern about race or nationality.

The present reviewer is himself a "classical liberal" – or, rather, a "neo-classical liberal," since he has long thought that its splendid nineteenth century insights need in several ways to be refined and extended to provide a more complete philosophy of a free society. As such, he would venture that such men as Richard Cobden, John Bright, Adam Smith before them, David Ricardo, Frederic Bastiat and the like never envisioned a loss of European vitality. Their system of ideas presupposed, as a given about which they hardly found it necessary to speak, a certain civilizational order. In his diary, John Bright (along with Richard Cobden a leader of the Manchester School's campaign in 1820s England against the tariff on grains) showed how relevant he in fact considered the level of culture to be. After visiting Turkey, he wrote: "No inducement is held out to the people to march on the road to civilization. There exists no spirit of emulation amongst them, and they drag on their existence as nearly as possible in the same listless and apathetic manner in which their fathers have done before them."[35]

Those of us who support free markets and limited government would do well to note this. It does not serve the ideal of a free society to cling with consistency to a few premises, however excellent, as though they define the full range of legitimate human concern; instead, those in the classical liberal tradition need above all to cultivate an understanding of the many prerequisites both of civilization and of a free society. This author has sometimes thought in terms of an overall "systems theory" of a free society, but that gives a purely rationalistic impression that doesn't fully convey the need for appreciation of the rich texture, the seamless web, that must underlie it.

In a discussion of the conceptual issues that relate to national

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

identity, it is well to consider an historical point about which there is some misunderstanding. Auster mentions that "as immigration advocates are fond of pointing out, fears that immigration would undermine America's national culture were raised in the early 20th century...." What he says next would seem to concede the point: "Since that threatened disaster did not occur, the advocates continue, similar warnings are utterly invalid now. This ahistorical argument ignores the profound and decisive differences between immigration at the turn of the century and today."[36]

Americans value, as human beings, the people among them who have entered at any time, just as they will value those who come in by future immigration. They value each other as friends, neighbors, business associates, and in their other relations with each other. But in the search for an historically honest understanding this should not obscure the effects of earlier waves of immigration. The twentieth century *has* seen a vast swing away from the ideals and culture of earlier Americans, and that change *has* been a constant source of distress to those who have valued that earlier America. The ethnic and religious minorities that came in between 1880 and 1920 were important components of the "Roosevelt coalition" that supported the New Deal; they have for many decades provided bloc voting for liberal-Democratic candidates; many were explicit supporters of socialism *per se*;[37] and it was masses of immigrants in urban areas that provided the basis for the big-city "boss system" and "machines," another part of the Roosevelt coalition. These were effects of the massive immigration from southern and eastern Europe.

A Threat to Liberty and Equality

Auster expresses an insight that many observers have not thought of. He says that "as diversity continues to expand beyond the point where genuine assimilation is possible, the ideal of equality will also recede...[This likely will lead to] a devolution of society into permanent class divisions based on ethnicity, a weakening of the sense of common citizenship, and a growing disparity between islands of private wealth and oceans of public squalor."[38]

He speaks also of a threat to liberty. "The inequality, the absence of common norms and loyalties, and the social conflict stemming from increased diversity require a growing state apparatus to mediate the conflict. The disappearance of voluntary social harmony requires

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that harmony be imposed by force." Auster points to "the signs of this new despotism [that] are all around us: the de jure and de facto repression of speech dealing with racially sensitive subjects; the official classification and extension of privileges to people according to ethnic affiliation; the expansion of judicial and bureaucratic power to enforce racial quotas...; the subjection of the American people to an unceasing barrage of propaganda...."[39] Samuel Francis, writing in the July 1990 *Chronicles*, voices the same concern: "When the common culture disintegrates under the impact of mass migrations, only institutionalized force can hold the regime together." Lutton adds to this the effects on liberty of a society's becoming crowded: "Had the American population stabilized at the 1950 mark of 150 million, today we would require no imported oil, pollution would be dramatically lower, and many other problems would be less intense...."[40] Most of these problems bring about additional governmental intervention.

Health, Education and Welfare Costs

If, now, we proceed to a review of the tangible (as distinct from the "intangible") disadvantages, not the least of these will be in the areas of health, education and welfare. Many of our references will be to the Lutton and Tanton book *The Immigration Invasion*, which for convenience we will refer to as *TII*.

"The United States has become a 'welfare magnet' to people around the world," the authors say. "Benefits granted by federal, state, and local agencies are typically far higher than the annual income in many countries of origin."[41]

How much the immigrants use the U. S. welfare system depends on whether they are from less-developed or more highly developed countries. Recent census figures, say, showed only 3.9% of immigrants from Switzerland to be on welfare, whereas 29.3% of those from Vietnam, and 12.4% of those from Mexico, were.[42]

In the past, the American "work ethic" has served as a check against accepting welfare, but *TII* says that some minorities see it as an entitlement and are even encouraged to take it. There is a three-year waiting period, but many older Chinese immigrants (55% of those who have entered California since 1980) go on welfare as soon as they become eligible.[43] A press report in December 1993 said that the Congressional Budget Office has totalled federal public-assistance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spending in four categories as being $21.3 billion in the next five years for legal and illegal immigrants. This encompasses four major categories: Food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medicaid, and Supplemental Security Income. The report says that "other estimates of combined state and federal assistance for legal non-citizens [that is, not even counting those here illegally] range as high as $11 billion a year." It tells us that "undocumented immigrants" can't receive public assistance, but that their children can, if born here.[44]

A sympathetic human interest story in the *Wichita Eagle* in mid-1993 bore the headline "Somalis struggle to start life in Wichita." It said that "only one member of the family...has a job, washing dishes at a Wichita hospital. The rest depend on welfare checks and donations...."[45]

The argument is sometimes made that "legal immigrants contribute more through taxes than they consume in government services." *Border Watch*, however, says that the statistics cited for this are years out of date; in 1991, Dr. George Borjas, an economist at the University of California, reported that "the new immigrants," less skilled and educated, "are joining the welfare system at a much higher rate than the older immigrants."[46]

Of the programs used by aliens, public education is "the largest expense category," *TII* says. This is partly because a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1982, *Plyler v. Doe*, held that public education must be provided to illegal aliens' children. In Los Angeles County alone in 1991 there were almost 100,000 such children, although not all yet of school age.[47]

The Earned-Income Tax Credit, under which low-income tax-return filers actually receive a check *from* the federal government instead of paying taxes, was started under the Nixon Administration--and checks are even sent to *illegal* aliens, since the tax code makes no requirement of legal residence.[48]

"Unreimbursed health care" costs are enormous for illegal aliens. *TII* cites figures from the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services which show that these unreimbursed expenses – for that county alone – were $99.8 million in 1983-4 and went up every year thereafter until in 1988-89 they were $163.0 million.[49]

The drain on the public treasury is accomplished, in many areas, with the active condonation of courts and local governments that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reflect the new political realities. When Illinois tried to expunge illegal aliens from its welfare rolls, a federal court, in a lawsuit brought by an activist Hispanic organization, ordered the state to stop asking applicants where they were from. *TII* says that "throughout the 1980s, many states and municipalities declared themselves 'sanctuaries' for aliens and have openly refused to cooperate with the INS" [Immigration and Naturalization Service]. In May 1988, an announcement signed by Edward Koch as mayor of New York City told illegal aliens that "it is not the City's policy to report you to immigration authorities." In 1990, HUD secretary Jack Kemp held that public housing must not "discriminate" against illegal aliens.[50]

Bringing in Tuberculosis

Neil Pierce in the *Baltimore Sun* writes that "tuberculosis is the world's largest cause of death from a single infectious agent," and warns about the disease-spreading effects of massive immigration.[51] Even though the incidence of TB was reduced to historic lows in the United States just a little more than a decade ago, *Border Watch* reports that it is now reaching "epidemic levels" in several major U.S. cities. It quotes *Newsweek* to the effect that "immigrants from Southeast Asia and Latin America [have] brought the disease to the United States in increasing numbers."[52]

Labor Market Impact

Julian Simon, a marketing professor at the University of Maryland, has testified that "immigrants do not take jobs, they create jobs...My recommendation would be that we simply jump immigration visas to one million per year."[53] But *TII* points out that the overwhelming number of immigrants since 1965 have been low-skilled. "Less than 5 percent of legally admitted immigrants are certified by the Department of Labor as possessing job skills and educational attainments actually needed by the economy." Instead of their taking only jobs that Americans do not want to perform, "a 1989 study conducted by Dr. Huddle [economist Donald Huddle of Rice University]...estimated that two out of every three of the jobs currently held by illegal aliens could be filled by Americans." An insidious process occurs, according to Lutton and Tanton: "A major factor in the displacement of Americans is that many jobs are simply not available to them...All too frequently job openings are not advertised in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

newspapers or listed with state employment services. Instead, aliens recruit other aliens by word of mouth. Over time, the work places become 'colonized' by aliens...."[54] The immigrants do often create new jobs, but most of these go to other immigrants, and entire lines of business become run almost exclusively by aliens. In New York City, "recent immigrants from the Indian subcontinent now operate about 40 percent of the city's gas stations...; over 85 percent of the green-grocer stores are owned and operated by Koreans; Indians and Pakistanis now enjoy a virtual monopoly on newsstands and are now moving into the jewelry trade."[55]

Much the same in happening in the professions. "According to the National Science Foundation," *TII* says, "about 35 percent of all engineers now working in the U.S. are foreign-born. The hiring of aliens in skilled occupations is increasing. Employers often prefer to hire them because they will work for less than the American pay scale."[56] In its newsletter, the American Engineering Association pointed out in 1992 that the 1990 Immigration Reform Act had tripled the legal immigration of scientists and engineers, with the result that "unemployment of American engineers has reach 'record highs' since 1990. In addition to working for less, the foreign engineers help the companies that hire them satisfy affirmative action requirements.[57] The influx of foreign technicians and engineers has occurred at the very time that hundreds of thousands of Americans in those roles have lost their jobs because of cut-backs in the military and the defense industries.

It is important for readers to understand the differences that exist in the perception of all this. Economics has for two hundred years prided itself on being a value-neutral science [although many economists of all persuasions have very definite economic and social preferences], simply analyzing the operation of markets in terms of what is most efficient. In those terms, it makes no difference whether American or Indian engineers are employed in the United States. Economics as a science is neutral as to nationality. And many employers have also seen the workforce this same way, being solely concerned about profitability. An example comes to mind about Pennsylvania in the early twentieth century: the steel mill owners in the town of Coatesville brought in so many blacks from the South and so many immigrants from eastern Europe that great strains were placed on the social fabric, laying the foundation for a brutal lynching

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the townspeople after a black killed a security policeman.[58]

In modern thought, there is a major tension between economic values, taken by themselves, and a good many other values cherished by given cultures. Economics as a science, so long as it remains value-neutral, can only point out the consequences of varied alternatives and cannot presume to determine the choice from among them. Inconsistently with this, many devotees of a free market believe that economic theory demands an exclusion of those other values. It does not. One does not abandon economics when one embraces such values; he simply acknowledges that economic "efficiency" is just one, albeit a very important, desideratum, even (or most especially) to a "free society."

The influx into low-paid jobs, small business and the scientific professions has been replicated in American universities. Lutton and Tanton say that "many colleges and universities are staffing their departments of mathematics, business, and engineering with legal aliens. The practice is expanding to the liberal arts, propelled by 'affirmative action' requirements for the hiring of favored 'minorities.'...*The Chronicles of Higher Education* has run ads listing the services of the 'Minority Faculty Registry,' based at Southwestern University,...which offers to help candidates specially favored as minorities find employment at colleges and universities across the country." The authors go on to tell a startling statistic from the *Christian Science Monitor*: that "more than 50 percent of all faculty under the age of 36 in American universities today are foreign-born."[59]

The Political Impact

In a democracy, the growth of a given population brings political power with it, both as an irresistible consequence and because the *ethos* of the society will not, in any case, allow otherwise. The shift of political power to "minorities" has occurred rapidly in the United States, and is continuing.

Lutton and Tanton point to specific issues that have thus far been affected by this (although before long *all* issues will come under its sway). One of these has to do with legislative apportionment: "The new statistical realities become the basis for apportioning seats in the federal and state legislatures." It is noteworthy that not just legal aliens, but *illegal* aliens as well, are counted for purposes of appor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionment.[60] The impact is at first felt most strongly at the level of state representative districts, but the new demographic realities will necessarily be felt as well at the Congressional level – and in the Electoral College.

Another political effect has been Congress' having "watered down the English requirement for citizenship." *TII* says that "today, persons over fifty who have lived here for twenty or more years are excused from the very elementary English language test required for naturalization...In late 1993, the INS even conducted an entire naturalization ceremony in Spanish!" Bilingual ballots are required, by a 1975 amendment to the Voting Rights Act, in voting districts that meet certain criteria. Interestingly, Spanish is the only European language that receives this treatment. "Los Angeles...now provides ballots in Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog (the language of the Philippines), Japanese, Spanish, in addition to English."[61]

One would think that, at the very least, the right to vote would be reserved to citizens. But even that is cracking under pressure. Tacoma Park, Maryland, recently approved a non-citizen voting right; and pressure is mounting to do the same in nearby Washington, D.C., the nation's capital and a major city.[62]

Sixty-five pressure groups lobbied for the "Motor-Voter Bill" that was signed into law by President Clinton on May 20, 1993. This creates a system of easy voter registration. Among its other provisions, it "explicitly discourages attempts to verify a voter registrant's citizenship by providing that mail-in registration forms 'may not include any requirement for notarization or other formal authentication,'" according to *TII*.[63]

Gerrymandering to create safe legislative seats for minority groups found its way into American law with a 1982 amendment to the Voting Rights Act. Lutton and Tanton point out that "this clearly gives the political leadership an incentive to keep the population together, ghettoized, unassimilated and isolated...."[64]

Another political consequence has been the increasing pressure to admit Puerto Rico to the union as the 51st state. This would, in effect, make the United States a multilingual empire, and Lutton and Tanton rightly point out that demands could then be justified to translate Congressional debates into Spanish and publish all government documents not only in English but in other languages as well.[65] The United States has passed the point at which this seems ludi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crous.

It is ironic that the growing political power of "minorities" is leading to a sense among blacks that they are, relatively speaking, losing power. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "The political results of [Los Angeles'] changing demographics add to the African-Americans' sense of powerlessness. Once solidly African-American, South Los Angeles is now heavily Latino. African-Americans fear loss of political power when new City Council Districts are drawn to reflect the city's fast-growing Latino and Asian-American populations."[66]

Not the least of the political consequences is the growing institutionalization of ethic divisions. "In 1968, Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act, providing federal funding to school systems struggling to educate non-English-speaking children...as a bridge to English," *TII* points out. "However, a bilingual education establishment quickly grew up and wanted to retain students in their native language environment for much of their schooling. In addition, maintaining the students' culture now has become a goal of bilingual education."[67] (In this, it is again apparent that little remains what it starts out to be; the thinking progresses in phases as one thing leads to another.)

Associated closely with this is the hue-and-cry in universities and the lower grades for "multicultural education." Proponents sometimes assert that multiculturalism is nothing other than a good liberal arts education, such as is produced by students' studying ancient history or French. But it is foolish to accept this, since it seeks to blind others to the ideological content of the multicultural movement. Lutton and Tanton describe multiculturalism accurately when they say that "multicultural education has become the code word for teaching history and social studies in a manner sure to develop in minority children a sense of estrangement from mainstream American society. Students are taught that their ancestors have been the victims of persecution and injustice in this country...This approach is rationalized as building self-esteem."[68]

Crime

The relationship between the massive immigration and crime was dramatized recently by two high-profile incidents: the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, for which four illegal aliens

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the Middle East were charged; and the shooting-to-death of two CIA agents outside the CIA headquarters in Virginia, for which an illegal immigrant from Pakistan (who has fled the United States) is the suspect.[69] But although spectacular incidents help focus public attention, the more important reality is the immense subterranean growth of crime as augmented by a significant portion (though of course not a majority) of those coming in.

TII says us that "the U.S. Bureau of Prisons reports that more than 25 percent of federal inmates are non-U.S. citizens." But even this large prison population doesn't tell the full story: Congressman Lamar Smith points out that "seven out of eight aliens [who commit crimes] are either released or given probation and never serve time in prison." Lutton and Tanton say that "over the past five years, an average of more than 72,000 aliens have been arrested annually on drug charges."[70]

The problem is only in part one of individual criminals. *TII* explains how each ethnic group involves *organized* crime: "Colombians in cocaine; Mexicans in marijuana, alien smuggling, and auto theft; Nigerians in heroin, student-loan and credit-card fraud; Chinese in heroin and alien smuggling; South Koreans in prostitution; Russians in drugs and insurance-fraud; Jamaicans in cocaine." Centuries-old criminal organizations called "Triads" flourish among the Chinese; "the [California] Attorney General's Office reports that the Wo Hop To Triad, which is one of the most active Triads in California, has a combined membership of 28,000." These smuggle in 100,000 illegal Chinese immigrants annually, for which the immigrants are charged fees running as high as $50,000 apiece; and the Triads' "most important source of wealth derives from their control of the major supplies of heroin," an activity that centers in New York City. Japanese crime syndicates are called "the Yakuza." Lutton and Tanton also tell of Caribbean criminal organizations from Jamaica (which are the most heavily armed), Haiti and Cuba.[71]

The media often picture aliens as model citizens, but this is contradicted by the country's growing awareness of street gangs. In Los Angeles alone, "gangs of almost every nationality flourish: Samoan, Filipino, Salvadoran, Mexican, Korean, Vietnamese. Experts estimate there are about 600 gangs." Non-Hispanic whites seldom organize into street gangs. In Denver, "60 percent of the gang members are black (although they are only 5 percent of the city's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

population) and 33 percent are Hispanics (who represent 12 percent of Denver's population."[72]

The impact of this in human terms is conveyed by a letter a police officer in Reno, Nevada, wrote to *Border Watch* in 1993. He said that "when I moved to this area Hispanics were rarely seen and had little contact with the police. During the past five years Reno has come to look more and more like a suburb of Mexico City. Almost half of the calls police respond to involve Hispanics...Also five years ago, we had no gang problems in Reno. Today we have identified a dozen or more immigrant gangs."[73]

These problems will almost certainly become worse. On April 1, 1994, the INS was ordered by the Clinton Administration not to run routine fingerprint checks on immigrants. Doing so had been an effective screening device to prevent the entry of immigrants with criminal records (9,000, for example, in 1993).[74]

Environment and Quality of Life

John Tanton has been active on environmental issues for several years, in 1975-7 serving as national president of Zero Population Growth. It is no wonder, then, that he and Lutton point out that environmental problems correlate with size of population. If, say, new technology makes possible an improvement in energy efficiency, the decrease in usage is negated if the number of people using energy increases. The same applies to all resources.[75]

The quality of life is affected as population becomes more dense. Harmony can only be achieved by increasing the amount of regulation.

Recent Immigration Legislation

Lutton and Tanton review the history of American immigration as far back at the seventeenth century, but this review will be content to set out the legislation that has been instrumental in producing the massive influx of the past 35 years.

1965 Immigration Act

The 1965 Act, signed by President Lyndon Johnson, eliminated the "national origins" principle that had been a part of American law since 1924 and had favored Europeans. The effect was that "85 percent of the 11.8 million legal immigrants arriving in the U.S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between 1971 and 1990 were from the Third World...." Twenty percent were from Mexico. Once they were here, immigrants could bring in their relatives, who could then bring in theirs in an unending chain.[76]

1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act

President Carter appointed a commission to look into the immigration issue, and it recommended increased controls. But the 1986 legislation had two sides: one was restrictive, but only in appearance, while the other granted amnesty to 3.1 million illegal aliens. After 18 months of temporary residency and five years as a permanent resident, those who were amnestied became eligible for citizenship – and could bring in their relatives. The amnesty, which of course encourages future illegal immigration by those who anticipate future amnesties, was supposed to be offset by the restrictive side. This consisted of beefing up the Border Patrol and imposing "employer sanctions" on anyone hiring illegal aliens. These became dead letters when Congress failed to appropriate money to pay for the strengthening of the Border Patrol and when the INS wasn't given sufficient funds to enforce employer sanctions. A second reason the sanctions haven't worked is that employers have been given no effective means to verify the legal status of an applicant for employment. Forged documents and work records are rampant.[77]

Since World War II, anti-discrimination laws of one kind or another have freely overridden the "freedom of association" that had until then been an important American Constitutional principle. As one additional extension of these laws, *the 1986 Act made it illegal for an American to hire a U.S. citizen in preference to an alien.*[78]

1990 Immigration Act

Despite polls showing a strong majority of the public opposed to lax immigration, President George Bush signed the 1990 Act, which raised legal immigration by almost 40 percent. The increase was stimulated by claims of an impending "labor shortage."[79]

The Act also allowed half a million Salvadorans to stay in the United States as a "safe haven." This was to expire in mid-1992, then was extended one year. None had been sent home by the time *TII* was written.[80]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Claims of Asylum; *Simply Fading Away; Fraudulent Marriages; "Anchor Babies"*

In the course of all this, the United States has adopted a principle that if an incoming immigrant says "political asylum," he will be allowed into the country "on parole" pending an INS hearing on his eligibility. The lag between entry and hearing is 14 months, and two-thirds of the entrants never appear for the hearing, simply melting into the country.[81] One ground for asylum, by itself, has the potential of allowing tens of millions of Chinese into the country: the Los Angeles Times/Washington Post Service on June 7, 1993, reported that asylum is usually granted to Chinese couples who object to China's policy of sterilizing those who have had one child.

Oddly, as Lutton and Tanton point out, millions of people simply enter the country through airports and stay – with no basis at all, and without even being counted in the statistics as illegal aliens.[82] This is a fact of unfathomable proportions. And, since anyone marrying an American citizen becomes entitled to permanent resident status in two years, many aliens marry Americans and then get a divorce as soon as the two years are up. Organizations exist that arrange these phony marriages.[83]

The U. S. Supreme Court has held the Fourteenth Amendment to mean that anyone born in the United States is automatically an American citizen. This lends itself to enormous abuse, since even babies born to illegal aliens are instant citizens. When the children reach 18, they are entitled under current law to bring in their relatives. This causes them to be called "anchor babies." Almost all other countries look to the legal status of the parents in determining whether a baby becomes a citizen.[84]

The Clinton Administration

The Clinton Administration has continued to act contrary to majority American opinion as shown in the polls. President Clinton has pushed for the admission of aliens who are HIV-infected.[85] A news report on November 26, 1993, said that "the Clinton administration says it will actively encourage legal immigrants to become U.S. citizens...The effort could enfranchise millions of people who have lived in this country for years without seeking citizenship...The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that 10 million [are eligible]."[86] And hundreds of Iraqi POWs taken captive in the 1991

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gulf War have been admitted as "refugees," a process that began under the Bush administration."[87]

Supporters and Opponents of Open Immigration

Supporters

Stacy lists some of the groups that lobbied for the 1990 increase in legal immigration: National Council of La Raza, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Organization of Chinese Americans, Japanese American Citizen League, Irish Immigration Reform Movement, American Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Committee, U.S. Catholic Conference, American Immigration Lawyers Association, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers.[88] A group that coordinates such efforts is the National Immigration Forum.[89] The May 1992 issue of *Border Watch* listed the names and addresses of 22 major American corporations that had contributed to the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); 17 that contributed to the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF); and 19 that helped support the National Council of La Raza (NCLR). The companies include such giants as Ford, Mobil, AT&T, Chevron, General Motors, Procter & Gamble, and Coca-Cola.

Even certain major conservatives have taken a liberal view of the immigration. The *Wall Street Journal* has endorsed a Constitutional amendment declaring "there shall be open borders."[90] Stacy observes that certain "neo-conservatives" such as Irving Kristol, Nathan Glaser and Midge Decter have argued strongly against "multiculturalism" but have, inconsistently in his (and in this reviewer's) opinion, just as strongly favored open immigration.[91] Major conservatives, Stacy reminds his readers, voted for the 1986 amnesty; these included Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich, Bob Dornan, Robert Michel, John McCain and Vin Weber.[92] The Heritage Foundation has sponsored an Hispanic Heritage month and has published position papers that advance immigration.[93] This amounts, in effect, to a crisis within American "conservatism," since a continuation of the influx will potentially frustrate virtually everything conservatives of all types have worked for for many years.

Opponents

Any listing of the opponents of relaxed immigration runs the risk

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to failing to mention a good many who deserve recognition. Suffice it to say that the American Immigration Control Foundation (P.O. Box 525, Monterey, VA 24465) publishes the monthly newsletter *Border Watch*, to which frequent reference has been made here; and that the "Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)" is described as "one of the most fiercely vocal anti-immigration groups."[94] *The Social Contract* and *Chronicles* magazines have also written extensively on the subject.

The issue is cutting across traditional party and ideological lines, as witness the Foreword to *TII* written by former Senator Eugene McCarthy. Samuel Francis has reported that "the 1990 Roper poll...found [that] 74 percent of Hispanic-Americans and 78 percent of black Americans don't want more immigration. Ninety-one percent of all Americans wanted illegal immigration halted."[95] That the minorities themselves do not want additional immigration will no doubt be a fact of major significance to groups attempting to mobilize a political movement to stop the influx.

ENDNOTES

1. James K. Patterson, "The Liberal Answer to World Over-Population: The Advanced Nations Should Stop Reproducing!," *Conservative Review*, October 1991, p. 6. Lutton and Tanton say that world population has been growing at the rate of over 90 million people per year since 1996; Wayne Lutton and John Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion* (Petoskey, Michigan: The Social Contract Press, 1994, p. 118.
2. Palmer Stacy, "The Great Betrayal: U.S. Immigration Policy, 1965-1993," Special Report, American Immigration Control Foundation, 1993.
3. Patterson, "The Liberal Answer," p. 7.
4. Stacy, "The Great Betrayal," p. 8.
5. See the discussion of these issues in Dwight D. Murphey, "The Historic Dispossession of the American Indian: Did It Violate Our Ideals?," *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Fall 1991; and "Issues in the American Cultural War: The World War II Relocation of the Japanese-Americans," *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Spring 1993.
6. Patrick J. Buchanan, "Immigration, Assimilation: Is It U.S.'s Turn Next?," *Human Events*, June 19, 1993.
7. Joachim F. Weber, "The Last Camp of the Saints: Germany's Immigration Problem," (trans. E. Christian Kopff), *Chronicles*, November 1993, pp. 19-22.
8. *Wichita Eagle*, September 2, 1992.
9. *Border Watch*, newsletter of The American Immigration Control Foundation, July 1993, p. 6.
10. Buchanan, "Immigration...," *Human Events*, June 19, 1993.
11. *Border Watch*, January 1993, p. 8.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

12. Dwight D. Murphey, *Liberalism in Contemporary America* (McLean, VA: Council for Social & Economic Studies, 1992).
13. *Wichita Eagle*, September 24, 1994.
14. *Border Watch*, February 1993, p. 1.
15. *Border Watch*, May 1993, p. 3.
16. *Wichita Eagle*, September 24, 1994.
17. Lawrence Auster, *The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism* (Monterey, VA: The American Immigration Control Foundation, 1990), pp. 23, 24.
18. *Wichita Eagle*, February 14, 1993.
19. *Wichita Eagle*, June 2, 1992.
20. *Wichita Eagle*, December 19, 1993.
21. Wayne Lutton, "Crossroads America," *Chronicles*, June 1993, p.33.
22. Stacy, "The Great Betrayal," p. 7.
23. George M. Carmichael, "Today California: Tomorrow America?," in *Will America Drown? Immigration and the Third World Population Explosion*, Editor Humphrey Dalton, Washington D.C.: Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1993.
24. Lutton, "Crossroads America," p. 33.
25. Lutton, "Crossroads America," pp. 33, 34.
26. John J. Miller, "Assimilation Enriches America's Melting Pot," *Insight*, October 3, 1994, p. 20.
27. G. Hardin, "The P's and Q's of Immigration," *Chronicles*, June 1993, p. 17.
28. Lawrence Auster, "Massive Immigration Will Destroy America," *Insight*, October 3, 1994, pp 18-20.
29. American Conservative Party, "We Are Losing America: The Failure of U.S. Immigration Control and Proposals for Corrective Action," pp. 12, 14.
30. *Border Watch*, June 1992, p. 2.
31. *Wichita Eagle*, December 17, 1991.
32. *Border Watch*, January 1993, p. 4.
33. *Border Watch*, March 1933, p. 4.
34. Auster, "Massive Immigration Will Destroy America," p. 18.
35. R. A. J. Walling, ed., *The Diaries of John Bright* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1931).
36. Auster, "Massive Immigration Will Destroy America," p. 18.
37. Nathan Glaser, *Remembering the Answers: Essays on the American Student Revolt* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970), pp. 229, 231, 242.
38. Auster, *National Suicide*, pp. 60-1.
39. Auster, *National Suicide*, p. 61.
40. Lutton, "Crossroads America," p. 33.
41. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, p. 7.
42. Ibid, p. 9.
43. Ibid, p. 9.
44. *Wichita Eagle*, December 19, 1993.
45. *Wichita Eagle*, June 26, 1993.
46. *Border Watch*, May 1992, p. 6.
47. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, pp. 10, 11, 22.
48. Ibid, p. 11.
49. Ibid, p. 23.
50. Ibid, pp. 14-18.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

51. As quoted in *Border Watch*, March 1993, p. 4.
52. *Border Watch*, June 1992, p. 5.
53. As quoted in *TII*, p. 33.
54. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, pp. 34-39.
55. Ibid, pp. 39-40.
56. Ibid, p. 41.
57. *Border Watch*, December 1992, p. 5.
58. The sociological aspects of the 1911 Coatesville lynching are analyzed at length in Dennis B. Downey and Raymond M. Hyser, *No Crooked Death* (Urbana, Il.: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
59. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, pp. 42-43.
60. Ibid, p. 49.
61. Ibid, pp. 50-51.
62. *Border Watch*, June 1992, p. 1.
63. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, pp. 52-53.
64. Ibid, p. 53.
65. Ibid, p. 54.
66. As quoted in *Border Watch*, July 1992, p. 2.
67. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, pp. 56-57.
68. Ibid, p. 57.
69. *Wichita Eagle*, December 19, 1993.
70. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, pp. 61-62.
71. Ibid, pp. 62-69.
72. Ibid, p. 77.
73. *Border Watch*, November 1993, p. 3.
74. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, p. 84.
75. Ibid, pp. 85-88.
76. Ibid, pp. 105-107.
77. Ibid, pp. 111-13.
78. Stacy, "The Great Betrayal," p. 3.
79. Lutton and Tanton, *The Immigration Invasion*, p. 115.
80. Ibid, p. 127.
81. Ibid, p. 122.
82. Ibid, p. 124.
83. Ibid, p. 124.
84. Ibid, pp. 128, 129.
85. *Border Watch*, April 1993, p. 4.
86. *Wichita Eagle*, November 26, 1993.
87. *Border Watch*, March 1993, p. 5.
88. Stacy, "The Great Betrayal," p. 5.
89. *Border Watch*, November 1993, p. 2.
90. Auster, *National Suicide*, p. 5.
91. L. Auster, "The Forbidden Topic," *National Review*, April 27, 1992, p.42.
92. Stacy, "The Great Betrayal," p. 2.
93. *Border Watch*, December 1992, p. 3.
94. *Wichita Eagle*, December 19, 1993.
95. *Border Watch*, December 1992, p. 5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDEX TO VOLUME NINETEEN

Armey, Dick
Public Welfare in America 245
Benski, Tova and Tikva Lecker-Darvish
Labor Market Achievements of Second Generation Immigrants in Israel 177
Bowers, Stephen
Tibet since Mao Zedong 409
Cunningham, John
Third World Missile Proliferation Poses a New Threat 131
Currie, Robin
The Irish Republican Army: A Closer Look 287
Eikeland, Per Ove
US Environmental NGOs: New Strategies for New Environmental Problems 259
Eksterowicz, Anthony and Glenn Hastedt
Congress, The Presidency and World Order: The Interplay of International and Domestic Politics 359
Glaser, E. Peter
A Global Perspective on Renewable and Solar Energy 3
Energy for Planet Earth 399
Hamzeh, A. Nizar
Clan Conflicts, Hezbollah & the Lebanese State 433
Horowitz, Carl F.
Will U.S. Inner Cities Dismantle the Urban Boundaries? 45
Mbaku, John
Bureaucratic Corruption and Policy Reform in Africa 149
Miller, Edward M.
The Relevance of Group Membership for Personnel Selection: A Demonstration Using Bayes' Theorem 323
Murphey, Dwight D.
Homosexuality and the Principles of a Free Society 105

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The World Population Explosion and the Cost of Uncontrolled Immigration 481
Nehme, Michel G.
Minorities and Anxieties: Empirical Evidence from the Arab Fertile Crescent 299
Nordin, Harold D.
The Splintering Federation: Changing Positions of Unions in Russia 201
Orman, S. and E. Fox
Countering the Missile Threat 387
Reynolds, Morgan D.
Using the Private Sector to Deter Crime 207
Richardson, Robert C. III
Saving the NATO Partnership 13
Rubin, Steven M. Rubin, Jonathan Shatz & Colleen Deegan
International Conservation Finance: Using Debt Swaps to Foster Conservation of Biodiversity 21
Smith, Bamijoka S.
Global Competition Challenges the Socio-Economic Structure of America and Europe 447
Sunic, Tomislav
The Persistence of the Communist Mystique 95
Wolf, Ariel T. and Ariel Dinar
Middle East Hydropolitics and Equity Measures For Water-Sharing Agreements 69

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New: Just Published!

How Good is Your Country? What You Should Know

Raymond B. Cattell, Ph.D., D.Sc.

Paperback, 144 pages

With Charts, Diagrams and Tables

CONTENTS

The Aims and Methods of Our Enquiry
A Scientific Basis for Comparing Countries
Reflections on What Syntality One Would Desire
Locating Family Types among Nations
Developmental Change
Some Change Factors Mapped in America, Australia and Britain
Desirability of Various Racio-Cultural Experiments
Comparison of Developmental Trends
Interpreting Family Values
The Mystery of Cultural Pressure
A Plan for Proceeding

A unique experiment in determining the relative cultural and biological competence of nations developed by one of the world's leading psychologists.

ISBN 0-941694-44-5 • Price: $25.00
VISA AND MASTERCARD ACCEPTED

The Mankind Quarterly Monograph Series No. 5
P.O. Box 34070, N.W. Washington D.C., 20043
Tel: (202) 371-2700 • Fax: (202) 371-1523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tibet: Endurance of the National Idea

Stephen R. Bowers
and
Eva M. Neterowicz

CONTENTS

TIBETAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE
TIBET ENTERS THE 20TH CENTURY
THE CONSOLIDATION OF CHINESE CONTROL
THE TRANSFORMATION OF TIBET
TIBET IN THE POST-MAOIST ERA
THE TIBETAN CRISIS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST ERA
OPTIONS FOR RESOLUTION OF THE TIBETAN CRISIS
APPENDIX
MAP

ISBN 0-930690-52-4 – Paperback, 128 pages
Price: $15.00
VISA AND MASTERCARD ORDERS ACCEPTED

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL POLITICAL & ECONOMIC STUDIES
MONOGRAPH SERIES
Monograph Number 23

Council for Social & Economic Studies
1133 13th St., N.W., Suite C-2
Washington D.C., 20005
Tel: (202) 371-2700 Fax: (202) 371-2500

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED